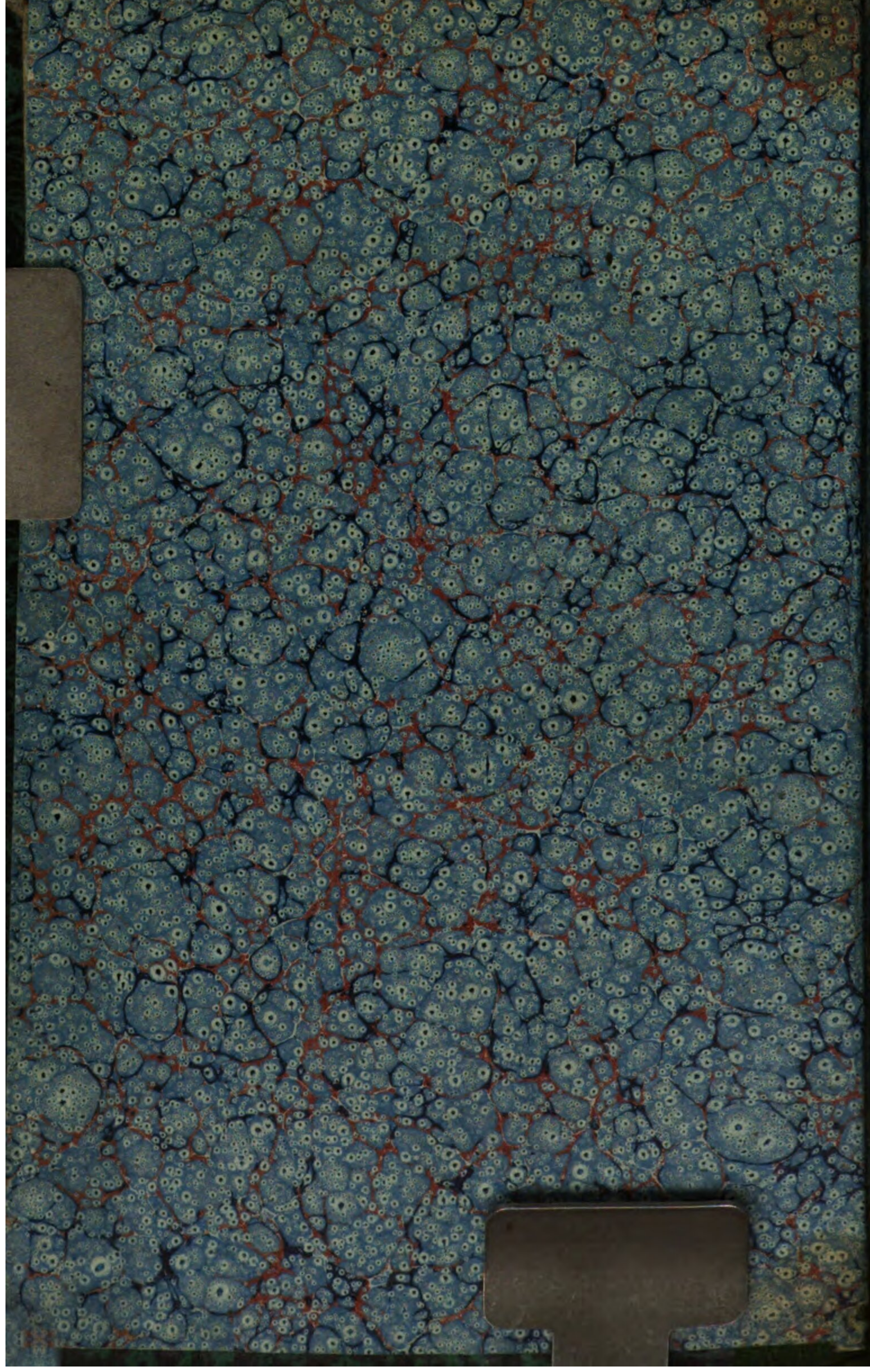
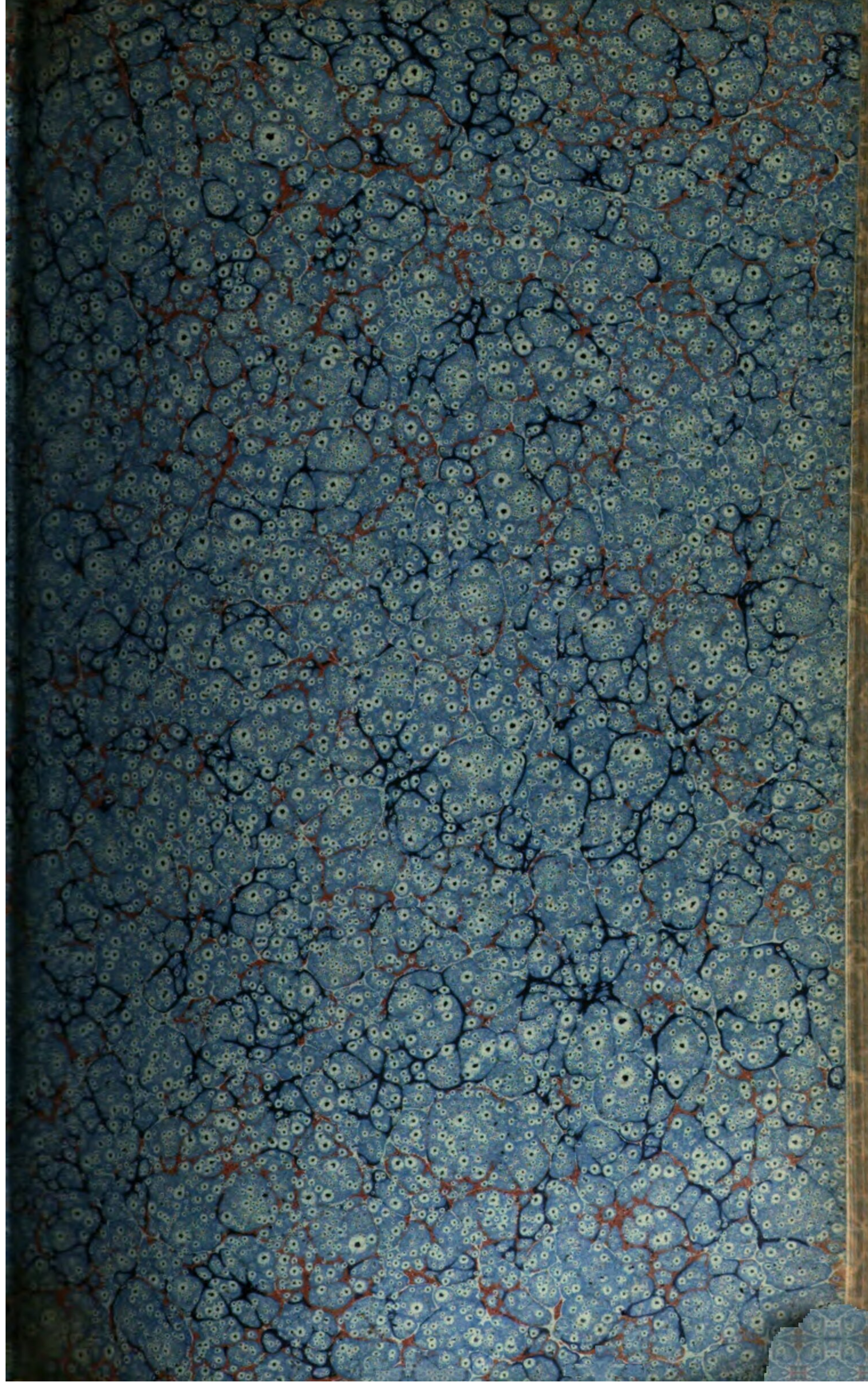






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Belsham

HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

REVOLUTION
IN
THE TREATY OF AMIENS, 1802.

BY WILLIAM BELSHAM.

IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

Ac mihi quidem videntur huc omnia esse reposita ab illis qui praeceperunt aliis :
et si qui eorum in imperio erunt, sint quare instructionem. CICERO.

Beneficio quam metu obligare homines magis : utroqueque gentes fide ac
societate iustas habere, quam tristi subiacere servituti. LIVY, lib. 26.

VOL. IV.

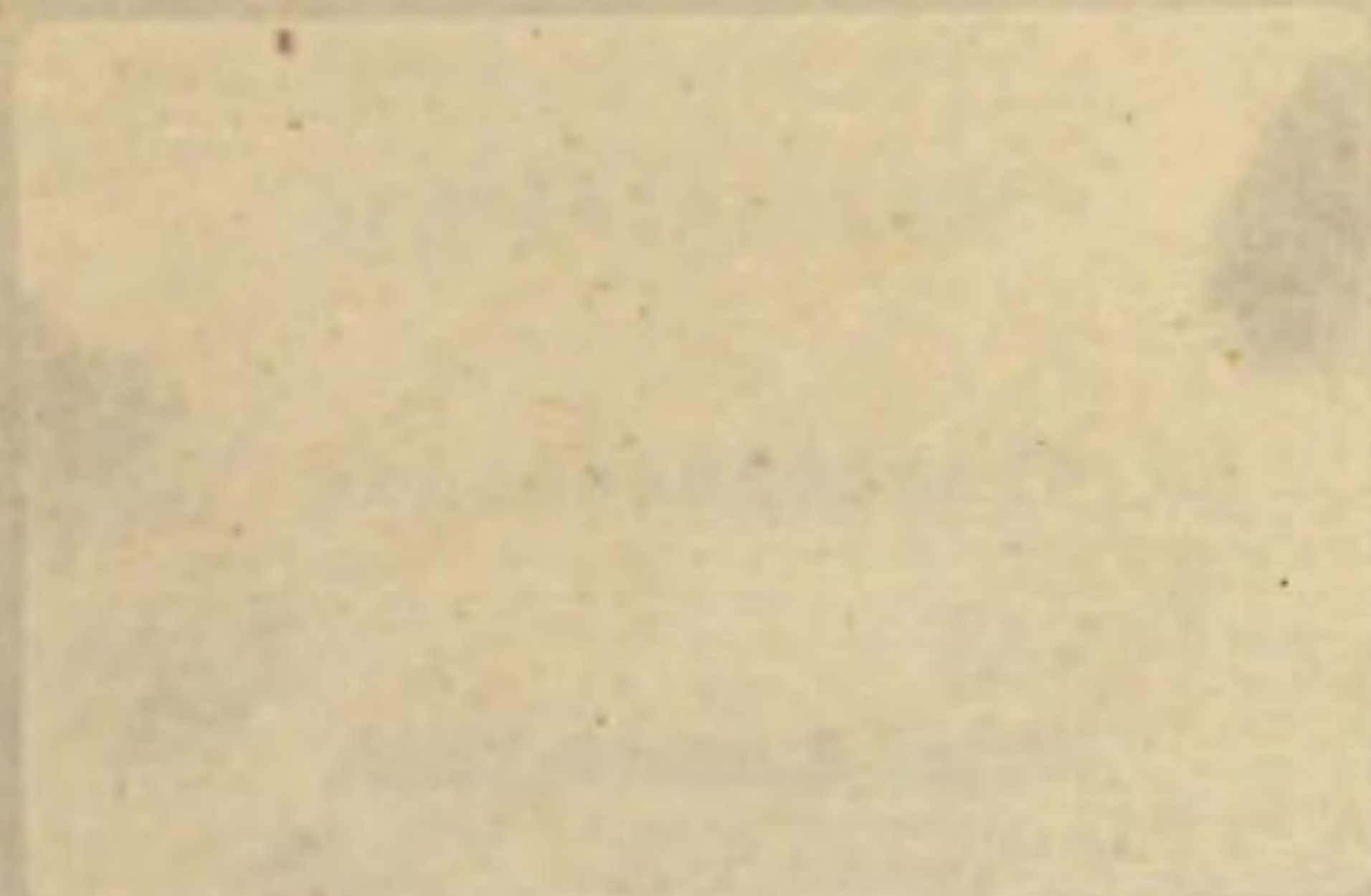
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Belaham



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societate junctas habere, quam tristi subjectas servitio. LIVY, lib. 26.

Vol. IV.

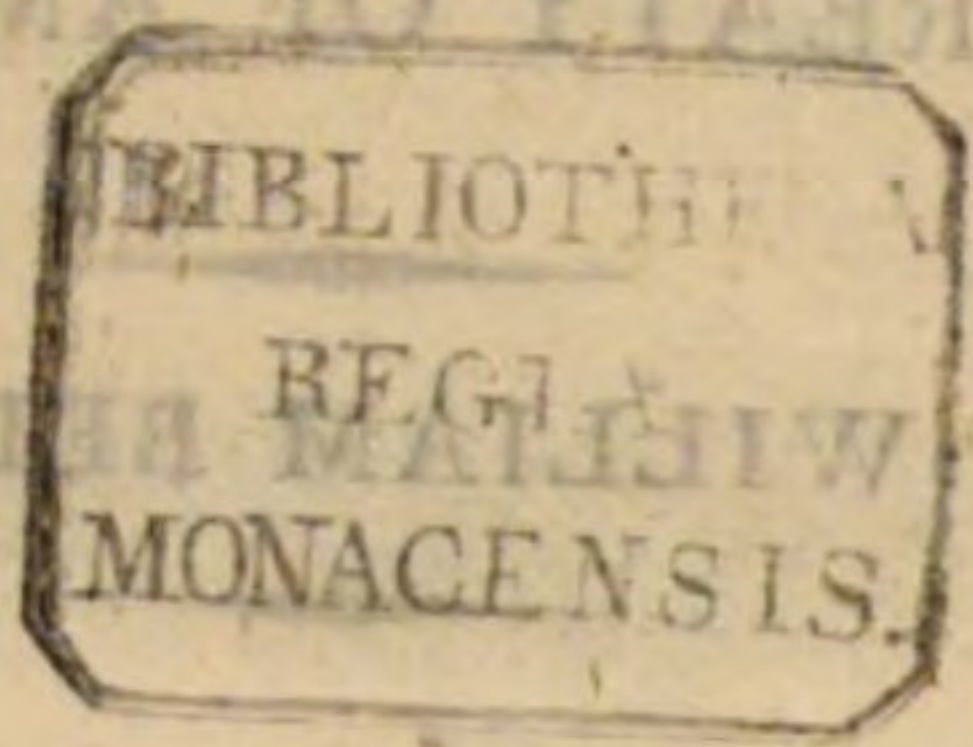
LONDON :

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1805.

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GREAT BRITAIN

FROM THE
REVOLUTION, 1688,
TO THE CONCLUSION OF
THE TREATY OF AMIENS, 1802.



IN TWELVE VOLUMES.

Atque quidem videtur hic omnia esse relictum ad illi peritiam
ut si qui eorum in imperio erant, sine quibusdam
Beneficio quam meum obligare homines vult; etiamque genus ad
div. lib. 26. *etiamque genus ad div. lib. 26.*

Vol. IV.

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HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

GEORGE II.

BOOK X.

SESSION of Parliament, 1738. *Vehement Debate on the Motion for the Continuance of the Land Forces. Insults and Depredations of Spain in the West Indies openly and daringly continued. Spirited Address of the House of Commons. Reluctance of the Minister to enter into a War. Convention signed at the Prado—Violently assailed by the Opposition, and ably defended by the Minister. Spain charged with violating the Convention. Letters of Marque and Reprisal issued. Declaration of Cardinal Fleury. The Mediation of France offered and refused. Vigorous Preparations for War. Portobello taken. Expedition of Commodore Anson. Death of the Emperor Charles VI.—Its Consequences. War in Italy. Heroic Bravery of the Genoese. Place Bill thrown out by a Majority of sixteen Voices only. Ill Success of the War with Spain. Rash Answer of Sir Charles Wager. Motion of Mr. Sandys for the Removal of Sir Robert Walpole. King and*

Parliament engage in the Support of the Queen of Hungary. New Parliament. Sir Robert Walpole's Influence on the Decline. Sir Robert Walpole in Danger of Impeachment—Resigns. Schism among the Patriots. Treachery of Mr. Pulteney. The New Ministers oppose all Reform. Efforts of the Patriots prove abortive. Review of Sir Robert Walpole's Administration. Great Britain engages in the Wars of the Continent. Battle of Dettingen. King of England in Danger of being made a Prisoner. Treaty of Worms. Political Depravity of the Minister, Lord Carteret. Earl of Stair resigns his Commission—His Character. War declared between France and England. Military Operations in Flanders, Lorraine, and Bohemia. Death of the Emperor Charles VII. Mediation of the Ottoman Porte rejected. Duke of Lorraine elected Emperor. Military Operations in Germany. King of Prussia concludes a separate Peace. Operations in Flanders. Battle of Fontenoy. Rebellion in Scotland. Uninterrupted Triumphs of Marshal Saxe. Debates in Parliament. Apostacy of Lord Carteret. High-Treason Bill opposed by the Duke of Bedford.

BOOK X.

1738.

Session of
parliament,
1738.

THE session of parliament opened Jan. 24, 1738, with a short speech, recommending the dispatch of public business with prudence and unanimity. Warm and dutiful addresses of condolence were presented by the two houses on the death of the queen; but the spirit of opposition acquired from this event fresh animation and vigor.

Vehement
debate on
the motion
for the con-
tinuance of
the land
forces.

A motion being made for the continuance of the same number of land forces as had been voted the preceding year, a vehement debate arose. For though in our own more courtly

days a much larger number is annually voted almost as a matter of course, it was considered in those times as one of the most important and most laudable objects of patriotism to procure if not an abolition at least a reduction of a military force detested and deprecated as useless, expensive, and dangerous. In vindication of the motion the ministry scrupled not to affirm, "that, if the army were disbanded, the *tory interest* would quickly predominate: that the kingdom was filled with clamor and discontent, which a standing military force only could effectually repress: that the support of the *whig interest* demanded the maintenance of this force; and it was hoped and presumed that the house would vote triple the number, if adjudged necessary for this purpose."

The members of the opposition replied, in their accustomed strain of *vain reasoning*, that this vindication contained in it a sentence of self-condemnation; for to what cause could the spirit of clamor and discontent be ascribed but to the misconduct of the ministry?—and it was, from their own acknowledgement, clear that what they were pleased to style the *whig interest* was in fact an inconsiderable party, which had engrossed the power of government by indirect and unconstitutional methods; which acted contrary to the sense of the nation; and

BOOK X.

1738.

which depended for support upon that very military force which was the grand source of the national discontent, which perpetuated the national taxes, and which menaced the national liberties with destruction. The claim of the ministry and their adherents in the house to the appellation of whigs, was warmly disputed; and sir John Hynde Cotton declared, that a genuine whig could never vote for a standing army in time of peace. “Whigs,” said this member, “who are true to their principles, will oppose all unlimited votes of credit; will deprecate the corruption of the legislative power as the greatest curse that can befall a nation: they will esteem the liberty of the press to be the most invaluable privilege of a free people; and frequent parliaments to be the grand bulwark of their liberties. A whig administration would never suffer injuries done to the British commerce to pass unnoticed, or insults offered to the British flag to pass unrevenged.”

It is remarkable that sir John Hynde Cotton was himself educated in tory principles, and was in early life closely connected with the principal leaders of that once formidable faction. But the panegyric now pronounced upon whig principles clearly and infallibly indicated that the proper and peculiar tenets of toryism—passive obedience, non-resistance, and the in-

defeasible rights of royalty—were now fallen into contempt. The tories were insensibly led, in the course of their opposition to the erroneous and unconstitutional measures of government, to adopt consistent and rational principles. The very name of TORY began to be considered as a term of reproach; and, as such, was in this debate resented and repelled. Still however, in a certain sense, whiggism and toryism have never ceased, and will never cease, to subsist. Whatever tends to enlarge the power of princes or of magistrates beyond the precise line or limit of the general good; whatever imposes oppressive or even superfluous restraints upon the liberty of the people, or introduces any species of civil inequality not founded on the basis of public utility; is of the essence of toryism. On the other hand, genuine whiggism is nothing more than good temper and good sense; or, to adopt higher and more appropriate terms of expression, benevolence and wisdom applied to the science of government.

In the house of lords the same question was debated with great ardor and ability, the lords Carteret and Chesterfield taking the lead in the opposition; but in the result the ministry triumphed as usual, and the same number of forces was continued.

BOOK X.

1738.

BOOK X.

1738.

Daring in-
sults of
Spain in the
West In-
dies.

Notwithstanding the treaty of Seville, concluded so long since as the year 1729, the Spaniards had never desisted from the commission of those insults and depredations for the prevention of which it was chiefly and professedly made. They were even emboldened by the phlegmatic indifference or pusillanimity of the English minister to proceed to still further extremities. They now therefore disputed the right of the English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and to gather salt in the island of Tortoga, though of ancient and established practice, and never before called in question. On pretence of the illicit commerce carried on by the British West India islands with the Spanish main—and which, however contrary to the absurd policy of Spain, was doubtless equally necessary and beneficial to both countries—armed vessels, known by the name of *guarda-costas*, were stationed in the usual track of commercial intercourse; which, on the plea of searching for contraband goods, seized, plundered, and insolently detained, a great number of British merchant ships at their discretion; and, without regarding the faith of nations, imprisoning the crews, and confiscating the cargoes. The repeated memorials presented by the British ambassador at the court of Madrid produced no sort of effect. Evasive

answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governors in America, intended merely to amuse, were all the advances which were made towards reparation and redress. The gross and flagrant injustice with which British vessels and their cargoes were seized and condemned by the Spaniards is strongly stated in a memorial presented by Mr. Keene to don Sebastian de la Quadra, December 7, 1737. "I have orders, sir," says he, "to tell you that the British subjects complain in the strongest manner of the oblique ways and unjust means which the Spanish officers in the West Indies make use of for condemning and confiscating their ships; viz. the master and crew are detained prisoners on board their ships until judgement is given; but, to save appearances, the governor appoints a Spaniard as party, in room of the proprietors of the ship, who, without ever consulting the master or the crew, makes properly a sham defence, on which the vessel is condemned; and after the sentence there lies an appeal to the council of the Indies in Spain; upon which appeal we conceive no defence is admitted, nor any testimony received or read, but what was admitted before the courts of judicature in America. If this be true, no wonder his majesty's subjects have not obtained any manner

BOOK X.
1738.

of justice, either in the first instance or on the appeal, where the same party is at the same time both plaintiff and defendant."

In the same dispatch, Mr. Keene urges the absurdity of obliging the English ships, when forced to make the Spanish land, to prove, before a Spanish court of justice, the particular reasons that obliged them to come near the shore. "That pretension," said the ambassador, "could not be sustained, should we even suppose that the crown of Spain has solely and exclusively the dominion and sovereignty of the American seas; but such a dominion or sovereignty is what the kings—predecessors of the king my master—never knew, and what his majesty will never admit."

The English nation seemed at length fired with a general and just resentment at these outrages. Petitions were presented to parliament in the session of 1738, from the mercantile towns and cities, stating the violences to which they had been exposed, and imploring relief and protection. The house, in a grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and to examine evidence; in the course of which it appeared that the most horrid and wanton acts of cruelty had in various instances been perpetrated by the Spaniards on the subjects of Great Britain. One Jenkins,

who appeared on this occasion at the bar of the house, gave a simple and affecting narrative of the savage treatment he had met with from the captain of a Spanish guarda-costa, who, after exhausting his invention in various modes of torture, tore off one of his ears, and bade him carry it to his king; adding, withal, many contumelious and opprobrious expressions. Despairing to escape alive from the hands of this barbarian, he recommended, he said, his soul to God, and the revenge of his wrongs to his country.

BOOK X.
1738.

The house, scarcely less inflamed than the populace with this recital, voted an unanimous address to the king, "beseeching his majesty to use his endeavors to obtain effectual relief for his injured subjects; to convince the court of Spain that his majesty could no longer suffer such constant and repeated insults and injuries to be carried on to the dishonor of his crown, and to the ruin of his subjects—and in case his applications proved fruitless, assuring him, that the house would effectually support his majesty in taking such measures as honor and justice should make it necessary for him to pursue." To this address the king returned a gracious and favorable answer, and on the 20th of May, 1738, the parliament was prorogued.

Spirited address of the house of commons.

Various motives concurred, nevertheless, to

BOOK X.

1738.

Reluctance
of the mini-
ster to enter
into a war.

excite in the breast of the minister an extreme reluctance firmly to resolve on a declaration of war. During the long course of his administration, it had been the constant and favorite object of his policy, to preserve the kingdom from that dire calamity. He perhaps doubted his talents for conducting a war with vigor and ability; and he might reasonably apprehend, that any disastrous event in the course of it might endanger his authority and safety. He was persuaded that the commercial interests affected by these depredations were in themselves too trivial, and of a nature too equivocal in point of right, to warrant the nation in having recourse to a remedy so violent. He well knew that the union of the two crowns of France and Spain was so strongly cemented, that a war with one must inevitably involve us in a war with the other. And it was his inviolable and avowed opinion, though contradicted happily by later experience, that England alone was not equal to cope with the combined force of the house of Bourbon. Possessed with these sentiments, he concluded, during the recess of parliament, a convention with Spain, signed at the Prado at Madrid; by which the king of Spain obliged himself to make reparation to the British subjects for their losses within a certain period; and commissioners were appointed

Convention
signed at
the Prado:

“ for regulating all those grievances and abuses which had interrupted the commerce of Great Britain in the American seas ; and for settling all other matters in dispute, in such a manner as might for the future prevent and remove all new causes and pretences of complaint.”

BOOK X.
1739.

When the terms of the convention were communicated to the parliament, which met February 1, 1739, it was treated with the most poignant contempt and ridicule. It was asserted by the opposition, that Spain, so far from giving up her groundless and unjustifiable claim of visiting and searching British ships sailing to and from British plantations, openly insisted upon it as a matter of right ; for it was merely the differences which had arisen in the exercise of this pretended right, and not the right itself which they had submitted to discussion. So that the undoubted and indisputable rights of England, and the insolent usurpations of Spain, were referred to the mediation of plenipotentiaries, as resting upon the same basis of equality. It was observed, that if the ministry had made the resolutions taken by parliament in the last session the foundation of their demands, a decisive answer must have been obtained ; but this convention, styled a treaty, was evidently no more than a preliminary to a treaty ; and a most injurious and dis-

violently as-
sailed by
the opposi-
tion.

BOOK X. graceful preliminary. It was an expedient illus-
1739. sory and ignominious, insecure though abject:
and an assertion was risked, which eventually
proved indeed strictly true, that the expense
of the commission would exceed the sum ulti-
mately granted by Spain as an indemnification
to the mercantile sufferers*. It was also ob-

* The sum allowed by Spain as an indemnification---a very inadequate one indeed---to the British merchants, was 95,000*l.*; from which, under various pretences, such deductions were made as reduced the balance to less than 20,000*l.* The convention was signed at the Prado, January 14, 1739. It must however be acknowledged, in justice to the court of Madrid, that previous to this event don Sebastian de la Quadra, secretary of state to his catholic majesty, delivered into the hands of Mr. Keene a formal declaration by order of his sovereign, dated January 10, in which, in the name of the catholic king, he insists upon the payment of the sum of 68,000*l.* due from the South-Sea company for the duty on negroes, as settled by the Assiento contract; and expressly affirming, "that under the force and validity of this protest, the signing of the convention may be proceeded on, and *in no other manner*.---Wherefore he concludes upon this firm supposition, and that it may not be eluded on any other motive or pretext whatsoever, his catholic majesty has been induced thereto." Mr. Keene, knowing the eager desire of the British court for an immediate accommodation, most imprudently accepted the ratification of the convention encumbered with this condition ---thus combining the intricate and perplexed concerns of a commercial company, involving a claim repeatedly and uniformly resisted by them, with a grand political question with which it had no proper or visible connexion, and which was

jected that the regulation of the limits of Carolina and Florida was referred to the determination of these plenipotentiaries; so that the territorial right of the infant colony of Georgia, which indubitably belonged to the crown of Great Britain, was left open to dispute, to the great and manifest discouragement of the settlers, who must deem themselves placed in a most precarious and dangerous situation.

BOOK X.
1739.

The minister, whose equanimity of temper was rarely ruffled by the bitterest invectives, at length arose, and in a very able speech vindicated his own conduct, and the terms of this convention, by arguments which merit a much more impartial and dispassionate attention than at this period of national delirium they could hope to obtain. "From the military glory of this empire, we are apt," said this cautious and sagacious statesman, "to flatter ourselves that our arms are invincible; and the wars between England and Spain are particularly dazzling and fascinating to the imagination. We see great navies defeated, great treasures gained, and great glory acquired; and we have no leisure to reflect that the situation of affairs is at present entirely different from what it once was.

and ably
defended by
the mini-
ster.

obviously calculated to render the whole negotiation ultimately abortive.

BOOK X.

1739.

Spain indeed has long ceased by its own unassisted strength to excite the dread and terror of Europe. But the very circumstances of its internal debility has been the means of procuring the support and alliance of powers, in conjunction with whom it would be romantic to expect that it should not be able to defend itself against the most formidable attacks of England. We know that France, who is actually connected with Spain by the closest ties of policy and of blood, has at her command vast armies, fleets, and revenues; and to venture the honor and interest of the empire against such a combination of superior forces, would, without extreme necessity, be not only rash but criminal. I do not affirm that no such necessity can arise; but I affirm that no such necessity yet exists. France and Holland have never contested those claims which we profess to regard with such indignation, and of which it is pretended we ought to insist upon an absolute renunciation on the part of Spain, without even suffering them to become the subject of discussion. But in the lowest state to which Spain has been ever reduced, this claim, which from long prescription she no doubt thinks to be just, and perhaps essential to the preservation of her American empire, has been invariably maintained. Spain is a nation steady to her

purpose, proud, fond of power, and even of the shadow of it—scrupulously attached to formal inquiries and discussions. Let gentlemen then lay their hands on their hearts, and say whether it were advisable to offer an insult so gross—or reasonable to expect compliance with a demand so imperious. No one, it is surely presumable, would have been better pleased than myself, had Spain thought fit to have given up this point by a clear and positive renunciation. But it is certain that the most successful war would scarcely have been able to extort this concession as a preliminary to a future treaty. But by this convention a virtual renunciation at least is obtained; for Spain has consented to indemnify the subjects of Great Britain for the injuries they have sustained in consequence of her pretended rights as founded upon this claim. Surely then the administration of Great Britain must have been mad, had they desperately plunged their country into a war, while it was in their power to conclude a peace, of which this great, this decisive, concession was to serve as the foundation. Was it for Great Britain to resolve to reject all concessions, and to hear of no other mode of terminating this difference than that of the sword? Could it be consistent with just policy to leave Spain in possession of a plea so plausible, so likely to interest all the

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powers of Europe in her favor, as such a conduct must have inevitably furnished? Might she not have said, 'I have offered satisfaction, I have offered indemnity, I have offered a firm and faithful observance of treaties; but these offers have been refused: England therefore certainly harbours some deep and dangerous design, which it is the common interest of nations to oppose and counteract.' Holland doubtless depends upon her commerce for her support and political importance, as much as ourselves. But I am convinced that the government of that country would not have indulged the complaints of private traders so far as to make a public inquiry which might have occasioned an open rupture; nor would their ministers have insisted on immediate satisfaction. They know too well that very great abuses are daily committed in the American trade. They know too well that the result of such inquiry might and would have been very little to their advantage. It requires no great art, no great ability, in a minister to pursue such measures as might make a war inevitable. But as events depend so much on fortune, it is the part of a wise minister to leave as little as possible to fortune. And the success which any former minister has met with from the favor of fortune, is no reason why a succeeding one should tread the same

dangerous and uncertain paths, when the same ends can be compassed in a way more safe and certain. I well know indeed that it is impossible for a minister, let him adopt what mode of conduct he may, to satisfy those whose invariable maxim it is, that the minister can never be in the right, and consequently that in their uniform opposition to all his measures they can never be in the wrong. Let us suppose that a war had been precipitately declared and vigorously prosecuted. Can we not easily imagine to ourselves that we hear a systematic opposition-man violently declaiming on the benefits of peace?—telling the world that a commercial people ought ever to avoid war, as destructive to their interests even when most successful? Fair and reasonable terms, he would exclaim, have been offered. Spain has even consented to indemnify our merchants for their losses. They have proposed an amicable meeting, to adjust all points in difference—yet our ministry, far from listening to advances so reasonable and equitable, have *blundered* us into an unjust, expensive, and hazardous war. This I confess would have been *blundering*—and, for the first time perhaps in the course of such an opposition, the term would have been rightly applied. Future ages however, always impartial in their censure or praise, will, I am

BOOK X. confident, do that justice to the counsels which
1739. have produced the convention under our discussion which passion and prejudice now refuse. And there is even reason to believe that a short time will remove those misapprehensions respecting it, which, in consequence of the clamors of artful and malicious traducers, so many persons of real sense, candor, and probity have unhappily been led to entertain."

At length the question being put for an address of approbation to the king, as moved by Mr. Horace Walpole, it was carried in the affirmative, in a house consisting of 496 members, by a majority only of 28. The numbers being declared, sir William Wyndham rose, and remarked, "that the address was intended to convince mankind that the treaty under consideration was a just and honorable treaty—but if the people refused implicitly to resign their reason to a vote of that house, and a vote so circumstanced, will not parliament lose its authority and influence with the public? Will it not be thought that the kingdom is governed by a faction, determined at all events to support the measures of the minister? I shall perhaps, said he, trouble you no more; but my earnest petition to Almighty God is, that he will preserve this people, whom he has so often wonderfully protected, from the impending

danger which threatens the nation from with-
out, and likewise FROM THAT STILL GREATER
DANGER WHICH THREATENS THE CONSTITU-
TION FROM WITHIN."

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Sir Robert Walpole was upon this occasion provoked, in bitter and passionate language, to recal to the recollection of the house, "that the gentleman who was now the mouth of his opponents, was twenty-five years before deeply engaged with those traitors who had conspired the destruction of their country : that the only use he had made of the clemency of government then extended to him, was to endeavour its subversion ; and he expressed his hope and confidence, that such treachery and ingratitude would produce a union of all true friends to our present happy establishment."

Agreeably to the intimation previously given, a grand secession of the members in opposition took place during the remainder of this session, and the succeeding year sir William Wyndham died, deeply regretted by the public at large, who had long forgotten his early political attachments, as one of the chief ornaments of the British senate and nation. In eloquence he had, by general acknowledgement, no rival but Mr. Pulteney. In the calm discussion of ordinary topics, he is indeed said to have been an uninteresting and ungraceful speaker ; but

BOOK X. when warmed and animated with his subject,
 1739. he displayed all the fire and force of a Demosthenes*.

In the house of lords the opposition to the court was no less formidable. The prince of Wales divided in person against the address, and his example was followed by seventy-three peers—thirty-nine of whom afterwards signed a protest against it, framed in terms of distinguished spirit and ability. Towards the conclusion of the session the house of commons voted the sum of five hundred thousand pounds, for augmenting the forces of Great Britain in case of emergency. A motion being made in the house of peers, by lord Bathurst, for an ad-

Spain
charged
with violat-
ing the con-
vention.

* In the beautiful delineation, to be found in Pope's Epilogue to the Satires, of the leading political characters of the times, a high and flattering eulogium is bestowed upon sir William Wyndham.—

Oft in the cool still mirror of retreat
 I studied SHREWSBURY, the wise, the great;
 CARLETON's calm sense and STANHOPE's noble flame
 Compared, and found their generous end the same.
 How pleasing ATTERBURY's softer hour!
 How shone the soul unconquered in the Tower!
 How can I PULTENEY, CHESTERFIELD, forget,
 While Roman spirit charms and Attic wit;
 ARGYLE, the state's whole thunder born to wield,
 And shake alike the senate and the field;
 Or WYNDHAM, just to freedom and the throne,
 The master of our passions and his own?

dress to know whether Spain had paid the money stipulated by the convention, the time limited for the payment being now expired; the duke of Newcastle acquainted the house, that he was commanded by his majesty to inform them that it was not paid; and that Spain had as yet given no reason for the non-payment— Upon which lord Carteret moved, that the failure of Spain in this particular was a breach of the convention, a high indignity to his majesty, and an injustice to the nation. After a vehement debate, the motion was evaded by the previous question.

In recording the transactions of the present year, it is necessary to notice the violent misunderstanding which had arisen during the preceding one between the regency of Hanover and the king of Denmark, respecting the petty lordship of Steinhorst, the revenue of which scarcely exceeded one thousand pounds sterling *per annum*. The castle of Steinhorst, garrisoned by a slight detachment of Danish dragoons, was carried by assault; and the king of Denmark made great warlike preparations, in order to revenge this affront; which most assuredly would never have been offered, had not Hanover depended on the aid and protection of England. And the king of Denmark, conscious on cooler reflexion of his inability to

Misunderstanding between Hanover & Denmark respecting the lordship of Steinhorst.

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cope with Hanover and her ALLY, had the address to convert this incident to his own advantage, by concluding a convention with the king of England; agreeably to which, he engaged to *hold in readiness* a body of six thousand men for the service of Great Britain. In return, Denmark, in addition to the stated pay of these troops, was to receive a subsidy of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns *per annum*, and the lordship of Steinhorst was ceded to HANOVER.

When the duke of Newcastle, in the course of the present session, produced this conventional treaty for parliamentary ratification, lord Carteret earnestly requested to be informed what use was intended to be made of these troops; as it was expressly stipulated by the articles of the treaty, that they should neither be employed on board the fleet, nor be transported in whole or in part beyond sea, nor serve against France or Spain, except in Germany or Flanders. His grace, however, not being at liberty to disclose *the* KING'S SECRETS, the subsidy was granted: and at the same time, in consequence of a message from the throne stating the exigency of public affairs, a vote of credit, conformable to a similar resolution of the commons, passed the house, notwithstanding the animated remonstrances of lord Carte-

ret; who declared that nothing could be more dangerous to the constitution than this practice, which was but of modern date in England; it was never heard of before the revolution, and but rarely till the nation was blessed with the present administration. Such a demand, he said, our ancestors would have heard with amazement, and rejected with scorn. If a general and unlimited vote of credit and confidence, his lordship affirmed, were to become a customary compliment at the end of every session, parliaments would grow despicable in the eyes of the people; and it might be depended on as an infallible consequence, that, when parliaments were once perceived to be useless and servile, they would, by a rapid gradation, become arbitrary and tyrannical.

On the 14th of June, 1739, the session was closed by a speech from the throne, in which the king assured the two houses, "that he would not be wanting in his endeavours to vindicate and maintain the undoubted rights of the nation, and to answer the just expectations of his people." Immediately on the prorogation of parliament, letters of marque and reprisal were issued against the Spaniards. But the minister, still indulging a fond and lingering hope of averting that war which was now become certain and inevitable, transmitted instructions

Letters of
marque and
reprisal is-
sued.

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Declaration
of cardinal
Fleury.

Mediation
of France
refused.

to Mr. Keene, the British envoy at Madrid, to declare that the king of Great Britain did not intend to be thereby understood to break the peace, or to deviate from the treaties subsisting between the two crowns; and that he had it expressly in charge to assure the court of Spain, that, as soon as the catholic king should be disposed to make the just satisfaction demanded of him, reprisals should cease, and give way to an accommodation. To which the marquis de Villarias, the Spanish minister, with great dignity replied in the name of his sovereign, "that the king of Spain neither acknowledged the right of the king of England to make reprisals, or to authorise others to make them; that his catholic majesty would regard these reprisals as a declaration of war, and that on the first intelligence of such act of hostility Mr. Keene should have notice to leave the kingdom." Lord Waldegrave, the British ambassador at Paris, having communicated to the court of Versailles the resolution of the king of England, cardinal Fleury appeared much moved; and, styling it a *terrible resolution*, told the ambassador that he sincerely deprecated the consequences which there was too much reason to believe would be found to result from it. The cardinal however, in this crisis, offered as a last resort, through the medium of the French ambassador in London, the

mediation of France, in order to compromise the differences subsisting between the two crowns; at the same time intimating that his most Christian majesty, in case of a refusal of his good offices, would be obliged to fulfil his engagements with Spain. To which it was replied by the English court, that the union subsisting between France and Spain was too strong to permit his most Christian majesty to act with perfect impartiality in such a mediation, and that this must be considered as a sufficient reason for declining the acceptance of it. Upon which the ambassador declared his presence in London to be entirely useless, and his continuance probably of very short duration.

If the minister be justly chargeable with tameness and pusillanimity in the conduct of his long and tedious negotiations with Spain, it must be acknowledged that he seemed determined, by the formidable preparations, both naval and military, which were now made, to carry on that war with vigor and effect, into which he had entered with so much hesitation and reluctance, and which would have been in all probability much more effectually prevented by the early assumption of a bolder and more resolute tone, and the actual appearance of a powerful British squadron in the West Indies, than by the numberless querulous and garru-

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Vigorous
prepara-
tions for
war.

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lous memorials presented for a succession of years at the court of Madrid; which appeared to deem it sufficient condescension to suffer the incessant repetition of the same unheeded tale.

In the month of October 1739 war was formally declared against Spain; and rear-admiral Vernon, a rough and resolute seaman, having been previously appointed to the command of the British naval force on the West-India station, universal joy was excited by the impor-

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Portobello
taken.

tant intelligence, which arrived early in the ensuing year, that he had taken the city of Portobello, on the isthmus of Darien, with six ships only. Admiral Vernon received on this occasion the thanks of the house of commons, and became the theme of the most extravagant panegyric. It was however remarked by some political *cynics*, that though the attempt was bold, the resistance was feeble; and had it not been crowned with success by the caprice of fortune, the commander would have incurred very severe censure for making a display of his valor so much at the expense of his discretion. The talents of this officer were, in consequence of the glory acquired by this brilliant *coup-de-main*, thought equal to any undertaking: and one of the most formidable armaments which ever sailed from the harbours of Great Britain, destined for the attack of Carthagera on the

Spanish main, was entrusted to his care and conduct, with the highest confidence of success. BOOK X.
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The command of the land forces on board the fleet, on the death of lord Cathcart, devolved upon general Wentworth; and it soon appeared that the leaders of this expedition were palpably deficient in the most essential requisites of their respective stations. Ignorance, rashness, and dissension, characterised all their operations: and after sustaining immense loss, not so much from the ill-concerted attacks made upon the town and its adjoining forts, as from the tropical diseases which raged among the troops, they were finally compelled to a precipitate and disgraceful retreat. And after reinforcements had been received from England, and the health of the men restored, nothing was attempted by the admiral to retrieve his own reputation, or the honor of the British arms; and the nation began to be sensible that they had formed much too high an idea of his character*.

A squadron under the command of commodore Anson was detached into the South Seas, Expedition
of commodore Anson.

* Previous to the sailing of this great armament for Carthage, the court of Versailles again offered its mediation, declaring its willingness for this purpose to act in concert with the courts of Vienna and Lisbon—but this offer was, probably with secret reluctance, rejected by the court of London.

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in order to annoy the Spanish settlements in that quarter. But from the harm sustained in the perpetual war of storms and tempests, rather than the opposition of the enemy, the primary design of the expedition proved abortive. The commodore made however a great number of rich prizes off the coasts of Chili and Peru, which he long kept in alarm. Landing with a detachment of seamen and marines, he took and plundered the town of Païta; and the consternation excited by this enterprise extended even to the city of Lima; but his force was too inconsiderable to attempt any permanent conquest. In crossing the Pacific Ocean, he had the good fortune to meet with and capture a Spanish galleon, bound from Acapulco to the Philippines, of immense value; and returning by the Cape of Good Hope to England, after a complete circumnavigation of the globe, was received with NATIONAL ACCLAMATION.

Death of
the emperor
Charles VI.:

An event in which all Europe was deeply interested, and had some time past anxiously expected, at length took place, October 20, 1740, in the demise of the emperor CHARLES VI., the last heir male of the house of Austria Hapsburg. And in a few days after the emperor, expired Anne Iwanowna, empress of Russia, who bequeathed her crown to Iwan, the infant grandson of her elder sister the duchess of

Mecklenburg. But this disposition not being agreeable to the Russians, a revolution soon took place in favor of Elizabeth, youngest daughter of Peter the Great by the late empress Catharine, who adopted the same general system of policy with her predecessors, and governed that vast empire with the same uninterrupted success and reputation.—Notwithstanding the famous edict styled the Pragmatic Sanction, of which such repeated mention has been made, and by virtue of which almost all the powers of Europe had guarantied the possessions of the house of Austria to the archduchess Maria Theresa, now assuming the title of queen of Hungary, the death of the emperor seemed as a signal to set the world in arms. Frederic king of Prussia—who had a few months only previous to this event acceded to the throne of his father—to the astonishment of the court of Vienna advanced a dormant and antiquated claim to certain districts of the duchy of Silesia; and in order to supply all deficiency of argument, he marched a formidable army into that province, and after a rapid succession of conquests made his public entry into Breslau the capital—the queen of Hungary having rejected with disdain the offer he made to advance a large sum for her immediate accommodation, and assist her with all his forces

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its consequences.

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against whatever enemies might arise, in order to obtain her consent to the cession of the territory in question. Till this period it is to be remarked that Prussia had scarcely been numbered among the powers of Europe; and had never been deemed of sufficient consequence to take any other than a subordinate or secondary part in the contentions of the continent. It was not without long and urgent solicitation that the emperor Leopold had consented to confer the title of KING upon the marquises of Brandenburg; and, as it is said, expressly against the advice and remonstrance of prince Eugene, who warned the emperor that he was raising up a rival to himself; and that the acquisition of the royal title would probably incite to future dangerous schemes and projects of aggrandisement*. The late king of Prussia was

* The king of Prussia himself, with his characteristic frankness, says, "Frederic I., en érigeant la Prusse en royaume, avoit par cette vaine grandeur mis un germe d'ambition dans sa postérité qui devoit fructifier tôt ou tard." The king determined, as he tells us, on a mature consideration of the forlorn situation of Austria, whose finances were miserably deranged, whose armies were ruined by the late unsuccessful war with Turkey, and which was now governed by a young princess without experience, under the additional disadvantage of a doubtful title—to assert what he is pleased to style his *incontestable rights* to Silesia;—though so chimerical did his claims appear to the court of Vienna, that when, in consequence of

a man capricious, ignorant, and brutal. The relentless despotism which he exercised over his subjects led him to increase the number, and to pay the closest attention to the discipline, of his troops; and his insatiable avarice prompted him to the constant accumulation of treasure, gradually rising in a long succession of years to an immense amount, and procured by every species of rapine and extortion. And thus the new monarch, who had sought for refuge from the tyrannic jealousy of his father in the shades of retirement, and who had strongly excited the attention of Europe by an uncommon display of talents even in that obscure and sequestered retreat, now found himself in a condition to undertake the boldest designs which interest or ambition could suggest. The elector of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the title of the queen of Hungary, alleging that the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia belonged to him, in virtue of an ancient compact, as the rightful heir of the emperor Ferdinand I.* The king

the military preparations actually carrying on in the Prussian dominions, M. Damrath, the imperial envoy at Berlin, warned his court that a storm was gathering which might possibly burst over that province, the council of the queen replied, "Nous ne voulons ni ne pouvons ajouter foi aux nouvelles que vous nous mandez." *Œuvres de Frederic II.*

* This prince nevertheless offered, at the commencement of the year 1741, to recognise the title of the queen of Hun-

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of Poland, as elector of Saxony, unmindful of his obligations to the late emperor, claimed the whole Austrian succession in right of his mother, daughter of the emperor Joseph. And France, resolving to embrace the favorable moment for which she had long and anxiously waited, to abase the pride and annihilate the power of her ancient rival, entered into engagements with the elector of Bavaria, with a view to elevate this prince to the imperial throne, and to enable him, in concert with the houses of Brandenburg and Saxony, to seize and divide the Germanic dominions of the house of Austria; the object of the confederacy being to confine the power of the queen of Hungary within the gary, on the cession of the Austrian Suabia and the Tyrolese; and the original views of the Prussian monarch were certainly far from extending to the acquisition of the entire province of Silesia. At a very early period of the war he declared his readiness to accept the duchy of Glogau, and some adjacent districts, in lieu of all his pretensions—to enter into strict alliance with the queen of Hungary, and to guaranty the Austrian succession agreeably to the Pragmatic Sanction—to employ his interest for the election of the duke of Lorraine to the imperial crown, and to pay two millions of florins as an indemnification for the expenses of the war. By acceding to these terms, the queen of Hungary might, doubtless, have firmly established herself in her remaining hereditary possessions, and secured the throne of the empire to her consort. But the Austrian pride, most impolitically fostered by England, chose rather to put all to the hazard than to sacrifice the smallest iota of its rights.

narrow limits of that remote kingdom. Spain, BOOK X.
1740. also desirous of a share of the spoils, boldly advanced her pretensions to the Italian dominions of Austria: and the queen of Spain, heiress of the house of Farnese, a woman of daring ambition, who gloried, like Catharine of Medicis, in styling herself the *mother of kings*, entertained the project of erecting these dominions into a monarchy, under the title of the kingdom of Lombardy, in favor of her youngest son the infant don Philip, brother to don Carlos king of the Sicilies, who also became a willing party in this formidable confederacy against the imperial house; in the general wreck of which, the Austrian Netherlands were allotted to France.

The treaty of Nymphenburg was concluded in the spring of 1741 between France and Bavaria—a powerful army under mareschal Maillebois marching at the same time into Westphalia, in order to overawe the electorate of Hanover: and the king of England, then at Hanover, thought proper to countermand the march of the Danes and Hessians in the pay of Great Britain, who had received orders to advance to the relief of the queen of Hungary, and to sign a treaty of neutrality for that electorate, as the purchase of which he engaged to vote for the elector of Bavaria at the ensuing

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election of an emperor; although this great concession, by which the imperial diadem was in appearance and probability for ever transferred from the house of Austria to that of Bavaria, was obviously and utterly irreconcilable with the general policy of England, which had for a long series of years considered the power of the Austrian family as the only effectual counterbalance to that of the house of Bourbon.

In July 1741 the elector of Bavaria, being joined by the French forces under mareschal Broglio, entered the archduchy of Austria at the head of 70,000 men, and captured the important cities of Lintz and Passau. But understanding that Vienna was strongly fortified and garrisoned, he determined to direct his march to Bohemia; and Prague surrendering after a short resistance, the elector made his public entry into that capital, where he was proclaimed king of Bohemia, and inaugurated with the usual solemnities. Notwithstanding this success, the elector has been accused of egregious indiscretion, in suffering his attention to be diverted from the siege of Vienna, the conquest of which, exclusive of the lustre it would have reflected upon the confederate arms, must have materially obstructed the communication between the Germanic and Hungarian territories

of the queen ; and in its consequences would probably have proved decisive. Nothing however had as yet interrupted the tide of his prosperity.

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The diet of the empire being convened at Francfort on the Main, the elector was unanimously chosen emperor of the Romans, February 1742, by the name of Charles VII; and a subsidy of fifty Roman months granted him to defray the expenses of the war. Reduced to the lowest external ebb of misfortune, Maria Theresa retired into the mountainous recesses of Hungary, and, assembling the states of that kingdom at Presburg; made in person an eloquent and affecting speech * ; in which she declared “ that she placed her sole reliance upon their courage, fidelity, and attachment ; and, holding up to their view the infant prince whom she bore in her arms, conjured them to protect and defend the sacred deposit which she entrusted to their care ; and to show in this crisis of danger, by the generous ardor of their loyalty, the affection and reverence which they entertained for the blood of their ancient monarchs.” Moved by this uncommon spectacle of imperial beauty in distress, and fired by the charms of her person no less than the energy

* In the Latin tongue, which is familiar to the Polish and Hungarian nobility.

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of her supplication, this rude but gallant people, drawing suddenly their sabres, replied with loud acclamations, “ MORIAMUR PRO REGE NOSTRO MARIA THERESA !” — In consequence of the powerful aid she derived from the zeal of her Hungarian subjects, affairs soon began to wear a more favorable aspect.

Early in the spring of 1742, the Austrian general count Khevenhuller, whose military talents entitle him to rank with the greatest commanders, forcing the passes of Scardingen, marched into the electorate of Bavaria, ravaged the whole country, and made himself master of Munich the capital. Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had married the archduchess Marianne, sister to the queen of Hungary, entered Silesia at the head of 50,000 men, in order to oppose the progress of the Prussian arms. After two fierce encounters at Molwitz and Czaslaw, in both of which the Prussians had the advantage, a peace was concluded through the mediation of England at Breslau (June 1742); by which the entire province of Silesia, the most fertile, rich, and populous, in the whole extent of the Austrian dominions, was ceded to Prussia. Such was the exultation of his Prussian majesty at the conclusion of this treaty—the advantages of which so far exceeded his most sanguine hopes and utmost demands at the

commencement of the war—that he is said to have declared himself willing to sacrifice his right hand, to insure the perpetual and faithful observance of it*.

In September following an accommodation also took place with Saxony, at the expense of some inconsiderable districts ceded to the king of Poland. The prince of Lorraine, now advancing into Bohemia, found that the French forces, under the mareschals Broglio and Belleisle, had abandoned their conquests on being themselves abandoned by their allies, and had now retired under the cannon of Prague, which was immediately invested by the Austrians; and the siege being prolonged for many months, the French garrison was reduced to difficulties which the most invincible resolution only could have sustained. The Austrians, supposing that they must finally surrender at discretion, refused to listen to terms of capitulation; but, by

* The queen of Hungary, little aware of the extent of the combination against her, had not only rejected with haughtiness the proposals of the king of Prussia, but had formed a project, as was universally believed, with the approbation of the court of London, for a partition of his dominions; in which the duchy of Magdeburg was allotted to the king of England—the knowledge of which induced his Prussian majesty to conclude that alliance with France, by which the very existence of the house of Austria seemed at one time to be endangered.

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an extraordinary effort of military skill and courage, the French generals forced a passage through the Austrian army, and in the depth of winter made their retreat good to Alsace; eluding, by the secrecy and rapidity of their marches, all attempts to intercept them. The emperor, being reduced in his turn to the extremity of distress, retired to Francfort, where he chiefly resided during the short and wretched remainder of his life, in a state of exile and indigence. In this destitute and forlorn situation, however, this prince thought fit to issue a commissorial decree against the queen of Hungary, couched in terms which the pride and grandeur of Aurelian in the midst of his triumphs over Zenobia scarcely had exceeded *. Referring to a former decree addressed to the imperial diet assembled at Francfort, and complaining of the insult and outrage offered to the whole ROMAN EMPIRE, by the *grand duchess of Tuscany*, in her refusal to acknowledge his dignity and the validity of his

* AURELIANUS Imperator Romanæ Orbis ZENOBIÆ.

Spontè facere debuistis id quod meis literis nunc jubeter. Deditionem præcipio impunitate vitæ proposita, ita ut illic, Zenobia, cum tuis agas vitam ubi te ex senatûs amplissimi sententia collocavero. Gemmas, argentum, aurum, sericum, equos, camelos in ærarium Romanum conferas. Palmyrenis jus suum servabitur.

election, he says, "that he had most graciously required of that assembly with most resplendent moderation, how and after what manner the most high imperial dignity might be sustained—and declaring, from the fullness of imperial power, inadmissible and null, and utterly canceling and rendering void, the two protestations of the court of Vienna, of September in the preceding and July in the present year, as injurious in the highest degree to the majesty and supreme dignity of the EMPEROR OF THE ROMANS and the grandeur of the whole ROMAN EMPIRE."

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On the side of Italy, the Spaniards, in order to carry their magnificent projects into effect, had assembled, in conjunction with the Neapolitans, an army of 60,000 men at Rimini, A. D. 1742, under the command of the duc de Montemar, afterwards succeeded by count de Gages, who attempted in vain to penetrate into Tuscany. And the king of Sardinia, who dreaded with reason the aggrandisement of the house of Bourbon in Lombardy, having declared in favor of the house of Austria, and joined count Traun the Austrian general in the Parmesan; another Spanish army, under the infant don Philip in person, entered Savoy*, and took pos-

* "Tell your master," said the queen of Spain to the Sardinian ambassador on his departure from Madrid, "that my son shall be a king in spite of all his efforts to prevent it."

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session of Chamberri; and though his Sardinian majesty returned to the defence of his own dominions at the first notice of this attack, he could not prevent the Spaniards from taking up their winter quarters in Savoy. In the course of this campaign, the army under count Gages was extremely weakened by the defection of the Neapolitan troops, who were recalled by a mandate of the king of Naples, issued in consequence of the unexpected and unwelcome appearance of an English squadron in the bay of Naples, detached by admiral Matthews, the British commander in the Mediterranean, with the peremptory denunciation of an immediate bombardment of the city of Naples, if his Neapolitan majesty refused to sign an explicit declaration of neutrality. The ensuing campaign in Italy did not at all advance the progress of the Spaniards. Count Gages having, contrary to his better judgement, attacked the combined army of Austrians and Piedmontese under the command of the brave and experienced marshal Traun at Campo-Santo *, was obliged to retreat with considerable loss, after an engage-

* This battle was rashly and unexpectedly fought, February 3, 1743; count de Gages receiving positive orders from the court of Madrid, to attack the enemy in three days after the arrival of the courier, or to resign his command to count Mariani.

ment which commenced at sunrise, and which continued till seven at night by the light of the moon. The mareschal, being destined to yet more urgent and important services in Germany, resigned his command in September 1743 to prince Lobkowitz. In Savoy, the infant don Philip, reinforced by 20,000 French auxiliaries, attacked the Piedmontese lines at Château Dauphiné—but was repulsed in repeated attacks with much damage; upon which the French retired into Dauphiné, and the Spaniards took refuge in their winter quarters.—In order to exhibit a connected view of this Italian war, which bears a very remote relation to the history of Great Britain, and to which it will not be necessary to revert, it may be proper to relate, in a few words, the principal events of the succeeding campaigns.

The king of Naples, renouncing his compulsory profession of neutrality, reassembled his army in the summer of 1744, and openly joined count de Gages. Prince Lobkowitz the Austrian general, marching through the papal territories, advanced to the frontiers of Naples; and published, though with little effect, a manifesto, to exhort the Neapolitans to shake off the Spanish yoke, and return to the dominion of the house of Austria. Count Brown being secretly detached by the Austrian commander

BOOK X. to attack the town of Velletri, where the king
1740. of Naples had established his quarters in a state of perfect apparent security, so successfully executed his commission, that his Neapolitan majesty escaped in the darkness of the night, through a postern, with great difficulty. But count de Gages, repairing to the post in person, with great presence of mind rallied the troops, and at length compelled the Austrian general to sound a retreat.

The imperial army having suffered much from the excessive heats of the summer, and the consequent epidemical diseases of an unaccustomed climate, decamped in November, in order to take up their winter quarters in Parma. Scarcely had the Austrian commander passed the Tiber, and lost sight of the walls of Rome, but his antagonist count de Gages, accompanied by his Neapolitan majesty, entered that city; but finding the bridges broken down, they desisted from the pursuit; and the holy father received both these contending powers with the same external demonstrations of joy and affection.

In Savoy the infant don Philip, being joined by his allies the French, attacked the king of Sardinia, though strongly entrenched amidst the mountains of Villa Franca; and after an obstinate engagement, this monarch, being

overpowered by numbers, was obliged to abandon his posts, and to embark on board the British squadron, then cruising off the coast, which transported him and his troops to Vado. Don Philip now prepared to penetrate through the territories of Genoa to the Milanese; but the British commander, admiral Matthews, declared that the king of England would consider the permission of the republic as a violation of their neutrality. The Spaniards therefore defiled towards Piedmont, and forced the strong post of Château Dauphiné, defended by the king of Sardinia in person, who now retreated to Saluces in order to cover his capital, while the combined army invested the strong and important fortress of Coni. Had this enterprise succeeded, the Sardinian monarch would have been reduced to a very critical situation: but baron Leutrum the governor made so gallant a defence, that the infant and the prince of Conti, who commanded the French army, were compelled to raise the siege at the approach of winter, and to retire with great precipitation to the frontiers of France.

The campaign of 1745 proved still more disastrous and alarming; for count de Gages, at the head of the Spanish and Neapolitan forces, passed the Appennines, and directing his march through the territories of Genoa, which—in

BOOK X. consequence of provocations no patience could
1740. endure—had now joined the confederacy, accomplished a junction with the army of the infant don Philip; and the Austrians retiring before them, the Milanese, Parma, and Placentia, submitted to the dominion of Spain. All Piedmont on both sides the Po was likewise reduced, and Turin itself menaced with a siege; yet the king of Sardinia adhered with unshaken fidelity to his engagements, and rejected with heroic firmness all proposals of a separate accommodation.

In the memorable march of count Gages, whose passage over the Appennines was compared by the Italians to that of Hannibal over the Alps, nothing, as the historian Buonamici informs us, appeared so surprising as the plenty which the army of that general found, when sinking under the pressure of distress, at their entrance into the territories of the republic of Lucca, though in point of natural fertility far inferior to the countries they had traversed. The roads from all the surrounding villages were crowded with carriages, conveying forage and provisions into the camp, at a season of the year when it might have been imagined that the public stores were exhausted. And it was seen and felt with irresistible conviction, that the misery or happiness of the subject arises

not from the nature of the soil, but of the government *.

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War in
Italy.

In the ensuing year, 1746, Fortune, ever capricious and inconstant, began once more to smile upon this prince, when apparently reduced to the very verge of ruin. The court of Vienna, being no longer pressed on the side of Germany, sent powerful reinforcements into Italy; and the coffers of his Sardinian majesty being amply replenished with British subsidies, he was enabled to take the field with redoubled force. Early in the spring, baron Leutrum, the Piedmontese general, recovered Aste, Alessandria, and Casal; mareschal Maillebois, who now commanded the French armies, retiring into the Genoese territories. On the other side, count de Gages and don Philip were compelled to abandon Milan, Pavia, and Parma, and retreat to Placentia, where, in the month of June, they were joined by mareschal Maillebois. In consequence of this junction, the

* The difference between the general state and condition of the people under despotic and republican governments, however modified, forces itself upon the observation. "I know very well," says a writer of discernment, "that the republics of Genoa and Venice are not in general allowed to be free states. M. Montesquieu has demonstrated, that they are not free. But there is undoubtedly some excellence in them which has escaped this wise man; for the contrast between these and the neighbouring states is very remarkable."

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infant, finding himself at the head of fifty thousand men, determined to attack the Austrians in their camp at San Lazaro, but met with a most severe repulse; and the Austrians, pursuing their victory, in their turn attacked the enemy (August 10) near the town of Tortona, on the southern banks of the Po, the passage of which the combined armies of French and Spaniards effected, not without great difficulty and loss. The infant was in consequence of this second defeat compelled to abandon the city of Placentia, containing immense magazines of ammunition and military stores; and, retreating towards Genoa, after a short interval quitted the territories of the republic, and took the route of Provence. Genoa was now compelled to surrender to the Austrians, who exercised the rights of conquest with such merciless rigor that the Genoese flew to arms, and in a short time, with a courage worthy of their ancient fame, totally expelled their oppressors. Whilst the imperial generals kept possession of Genoa, the bank of St. George was exhausted by the enormous contributions levied by the Austrians, who boasted that the wealth of this proud city was theirs, and that Genoa would in a short time be deluged in blood. And general Botta, the Austrian commander, is said to have told the

Bravery of
the Ge-
noese.

Genoese deputies, who pathetically pleaded for the mitigation of their sufferings, that he would leave them nothing except their eyes, to behold the destruction of their country and to weep over its ruins. The duc de Boufflers, ambassador from his most christian majesty to the republic, in his congratulatory address to the doge and senate of Genoa on the recent and glorious expulsion of the Austrians, seemed inspired by all the enthusiasm of liberty:—“What confidence, serene prince and most potent lords,” said the ambassador, “can you place in a court which has attempted to reduce you to the vilest slavery? By the mouth even of its general it has threatened your citizens with the most infamous punishments. But it has not yet been in its power to rob you either of your honor or your liberty. These inestimable things, *a thousand times more precious than life itself*, you are still possessed of. It is to yourselves you owe this happy revolution, which has been effected without, and even prevented, the succor of your allies. It is your present actions, illustrious republic! which render you the emulators of that ancient Rome, of that senate, the courage of whom the presence of Hannibal and a victorious army then under the walls of that city could not abate.”—“The republic,” said the doge in reply, “rejoices in

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having fulfilled her engagements with invincible steadiness. The distresses she has labored under have only served to augment her courage and redouble her constancy. Intrepid in the most fatal extremities, she has been, and still is, ready to sacrifice all for the preservation of her LIBERTY*.”

In April 1747 the French, under mareschal Belleisle, once more crossed the Var, and took possession of Nice, Montalban, Villa-Franca, and Ventmiglia, almost without resistance; the Austrians and Piedmontese being employed in an attempt to recover the city of Genoa. On

* Over the gate of the city of Genoa through which the Austrians fled, the following inscription, commemorative of that great event, was placed; in which it is to be lamented that the heroism of the ancient should be debased by any mixture of the superstition of modern Rome.

D. O. M.

Germanicâ immanitate pressus

Sub Duce BOTTA,

POPULUS GENUENSIS,

Nullò nisi DEO Duce,

Virginisque MARIE nomine invocato,

Die X Decembris

Deiparæ LAURETANÆ sacratâ,

Hostes, ad portas occidentales,

Multiplici propugnaculo stipatos,

Igne, ferro, cæde

Terruit, vicit, dispersit, fugavit,

M,DCC,XLVI.

summoning the citizens to surrender, they replied with that spirit which almost invariably animates and pervades all classes of men living under a republican form of government, “that they would defend their liberty with the last drop of their blood, and would rather be buried in the ruins of their capital, than submit to the *clemency* of the court of Vienna.” Count Schuylenburg, the Austrian commander, who conducted the operations of the siege with great skill and vigor, was at length reduced reluctantly to listen to the remonstrances of the king of Sardinia, who represented to him the necessity of abandoning his enterprise in order to cover Piedmont and Lombardy from the efforts of the *mareschal de Belleisle*. But the *chevalier de Belleisle*, brother to the *mareschal*, attempting to force the important pass of Exiles, was repulsed with prodigious slaughter; and seizing a pair of colors, with a resolution, on the renewal of the attack, to plant them with his own hand upon the ramparts, he was shot dead with a musquet ball. The troops immediately gave way in the utmost confusion, and the *mareschal*, informed of this disaster, retreated back to the Var; and his Sardinian majesty menaced Dauphiné with an invasion in his turn; but excessive rains prevented the execution of his design.

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The succeeding campaign (A. D. 1748), which was the last of the war, was distinguished by no very material transaction; the near prospect of peace rendering it equally unadvisable on both sides to risque any hazardous enterprise. And the infant don Philip was by one of the articles of the treaty put into possession of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla—the king of Sardinia receiving, in conformity to a previous agreement with the queen of Hungary, and as a just remuneration for the fidelity and attachment he had discovered to the interests, and the courage he had displayed in the defence, of the house of Austria, some contiguous districts of Novara and the Milanese. As soon as certain intelligence had arrived, that the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed, the British admiral acquainted the senate of Genoa of that event, in a message delivered by one of his captains, who had at the same time express orders to assure the republic how great was the admiration he entertained of the fortitude and valor displayed by them in the defence of their liberties. “Such,” says the Italian historian, “is the magnanimity of the British nation *!”

It is now high time to advert to the situation of Great Britain, and to trace the mazes of that

* Buonamici's Commentaries, book iv.

policy by which she became a principal in this destructive war, which, had she consulted her proper interests, would scarcely have involved her as an auxiliary. The opposition exulted much in the royal declaration of war against Spain, which they affirmed to be an echo of their reasonings and arguments against the convention; although the truths it contained were at that time positively denied by the minister and his adherents—and since that time not one event had happened which was not by his opponents previously foretold.

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The session which commenced November 1739, closed April 29, 1740, without producing any remarkable event. The pension bill was, according to almost annual custom, passed by the commons and rejected by the lords. But the place bill, which was again introduced with many judicious modifications and numerous exceptions, was thrown out by a very small majority of the commons in a very full house, the numbers being 222 to 206.

Place bill thrown out by a majority of 16 voices only.

As it was clearly perceived that the court was forced into the present contest against Spain, the great popularity of the war did not at all diminish, or rather it tended to heighten, the unpopularity of the minister. After the capture of Portobello, and the ill-conducted attempt on Carthagena, the spirit of enter-

Ill success of the war with Spain.

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1740.

Rash answer of sir Charles Wager.

prise seemed no more: the fleets of Spain sailed unmolested from their harbours, though British squadrons were stationed off the Spanish coasts for the professed purpose of intercepting them. Commerce was interrupted by the numbers of seamen pressed into the service of government, and still more by the incredible number of prizes taken by the Spanish privateers. The discontents of the merchants were unnecessarily inflamed by the rash and passionate answer of sir Charles Wager, who, when a memorial was presented to him, as first lord of the admiralty, for protection and redress, replied, "it is your own war, and you must take it for your pains." The harbour and fortifications of Dunkirk were repaired, by order of the French king, in open violation of the treaty of Utrecht. A French fleet had sailed in company with the Spaniards to the West Indies, for the avowed purpose of protecting the Spanish commerce, and serious apprehensions were entertained for the safety of Jamaica.

When the parliament was convened in November 1740, the nation, throughout all the different ranks and descriptions of citizens, exhibited evident and alarming symptoms of discontent. Eager to embrace the favorable moment, Mr. Sandys, one of the leaders of opposition, soon after the commencement of the

session notified to sir Robert Walpole, in the house of commons, his intention on the Friday following to bring forward a charge against him. At this unexpected intimation the minister seemed at first somewhat disconcerted and surprised; but, recovering himself, after a short pause replied, "that as he was conscious of no crime, he had no doubt of being able to make a proper defence: and, laying his hand with emotion on his breast, he added, with Roman dignity,

"Hic murus aheneus esto,
Nil conscire sibi, nullâ pallescere culpâ*."

On the day appointed, Mr. Sandys accordingly, at the close of a long speech in which he recapitulated all the political delinquencies real or pretended of the minister, moved "that an humble address should be presented to the king, beseeching his majesty that he would be graciously pleased to remove the right honorable sir Robert Walpole, first commissioner of the treasury, &c., from his majesty's presence and councils for ever." The motion was ably sustained by the members in opposition, particularly by Mr. Pulteney, who took a very severe retrospective view of the conduct of the

Motion of
Mr. Sandys
for the re-
moval of sir
Robert
Walpole.

* "Be this my brazen bulwark of defence,
Still to preserve a conscious innocence." FRANCIS.

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minister, from the commencement of his administration. “By the treaty of Seville,” said this eloquent speaker, “we were very nearly driven to the perilous extremity of entering into a war with the emperor, as the direct consequence of our conjunction with France and Spain. But the nation took the alarm, and the minister was obliged to consult his safety; and this impelled him to avert the danger by a precipitate unconditional guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. But though, in consequence of this rash measure, and this alone, the emperor consented to the introduction of Spanish troops into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, Spain performed nothing on her part of what she had engaged. On the contrary, the depredations of that nation on our West-India commerce daily increased. And thus affairs stood when France, in alliance with Spain and Sardinia, thought fit to attack the emperor in 1733, with an avowed design to strip him of all his dominions in Italy. Of this attack we remained idle, though not unexpensive, spectators; till we saw, on the one hand, Naples, and even Sicily, procured for him by England at the price of a war with Spain, wrested from the emperor; and on the other, the duchy of Lorraine added to the monarchy of France. On the first accession of the minister to the sole

direction of public affairs, there was a fair prospect," Mr. Pulteney said, "of discharging, within a reasonable time, every shilling of the public debt: but this would have diminished the minister's fund for corruption, and it was therefore by all means to be prevented; and the public charge was to be yearly increased, in order to oblige us to the alternative of applying the produce of the sinking fund to the current service, or of contracting a new debt equal to that which was paid off. The expenses of the civil government were also so prodigiously enhanced that a demand of 500,000*l.* was made in the year 1725 to pay the debts of the civil list, though the like sum had been granted for the same purpose but four years before. Upon his present majesty's accession, an addition of 100,000*l.* was made to the civil list, besides 115,000*l.* for making good a pretended deficiency in that revenue. But what furnished the most successful pretext for increasing the public burdens, was the famous treaty of Hanover, professedly concluded for preventing the dangers with which Europe was threatened from the overgrown power of the house of Austria. Had the danger alleged been *real*, this nation ought to have been the last, because it had certainly the least, to fear. But the fact was, that the Dutch, who lay most

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 1740. exposed, were so little apprehensive of danger, that it was not without much solicitation, and after considerable delay, that they could be persuaded to accede to this treaty. And France, to whom the alliance of Spain and the emperor might reasonably be supposed to appear formidable, neither chose to incur any expense, nor discovered any solicitude to assist us when actually attacked by Spain in consequence of this treaty: whereas *we* took twelve thousand Hessians into our pay; granted subsidies to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and, what was most extraordinary, to the duke of Wolfenbuttle six months after the preliminaries of peace with Spain and the emperor were signed: and the Hessians were continued in pay for several years. When a scheme was afterwards offered by a patriotic member of this house (sir John Barnard) for reducing the interest payable upon all our public funds, it is unnecessary to say by whom and what means that scheme was defeated: and, considering how practicable a plan it was at that time, we must conclude that the minister who opposed it could have no design that our debts should be ever paid or our taxes diminished."

On this trying occasion, sir Robert Walpole nevertheless defended himself with such vigor and ability, that the motion of Mr. Sandys was

finally rejected by a very great majority. "The successive measures of his administration, the minister alleged, were adapted to the different exigencies of the times—they had received the repeated and unequivocal sanction of successive parliaments. The sole object of that system of policy by which his public conduct had been regulated, was to preserve the tranquillity of Europe, which was to be effected only by maintaining the balance of Europe."—The charge of corruption, so generally brought, the minister as generally denied—and, to the amazement and confusion of his friends, he positively challenged his accuser to produce one specific instance of this nature in confirmation of his accusation. In the course of his speech he animadverted with great spirit upon the indiscriminate use of the term *patriotism*. "A patriot, sir!" said he, addressing the chair—"I venerate the name. But then it is the real and not the pretended patriot who is the object of my reverence. In these times, sir, patriots spring up like mushrooms. I could raise twenty of them in a night. A minister has nothing more to do than to refuse compliance with an unjust or unreasonable demand, and up starts a patriot. But, sir, the unprincipled efforts of such patriots I alike disdain and detest."—After a short interval, a motion

BOOK X. to the same purport with that of Mr. Sandys,
 1740. was made in the house of peers by lord Carteret, and supported by the duke of Argyle, and the lords Gower, Bathurst, and Chesterfield. It was negatived, but thirty peers entered their protest; and the credit and authority of the ministry were sensibly impaired by these repeated attacks.

1741. In April 1741 the king delivered in person
 King and parliament engage in the support of the queen of Hungary. a speech to both houses of parliament, informing them that the queen of Hungary had made a requisition of assistance from England, agreeably to the tenor of the subsisting treaties—that he had ordered the Danish and Hessian auxiliaries to be in readiness to march for that purpose—that in this complicated and uncertain state of affairs, it might become necessary for him to incur extraordinary expenses for maintaining inviolate the Pragmatic Sanction, for which he trusted they would provide. The commons assured the king, in their address, “that they entirely approved of the measures already pursued, and that they would enable him effectually to support his engagements with the queen of Hungary.” Two hundred thousand pounds were accordingly voted upon the motion of the minister, as a parliamentary grant or gratuity to that princess, and 300,000*l.* more to his majesty, to be employed at his dis-

cretion in the manner most conducive to her service; seventy thousand men had been before voted for the army and navy, and the accustomed subsidies granted to Denmark and Hesse Cassel. "HONEST SHIPPEN*" only ventured to oppose this wild and wanton waste of the public money. "He protested, on this as on all other occasions, against any interposition in the affairs of Germany. He protested against that clause of the address, by which the house engaged to defend his majesty's foreign dominions from insult, or attack, as utterly inconsistent with the act of settlement—declaring, that if the repeated and shameful evasions of that act, or rather the open violations of it, could have been foreseen, they would probably have for ever precluded from the succession that illustrious family, to which the nation owed SUCH NUMBERLESS BLESSINGS, SUCH CONTINUED FELICITY." On the 25th of April, 1741, the session closed, and the king took his leave of this parliament, in the prospect of its dissolution, with many expressions of gratitude and satisfaction.

The NEW PARLIAMENT being convened December 1, 1741, the king in his speech express-
New parliament.

* "I love to pour out all myself, as plain

As HONEST SHIPPEN, or downright Montagne." POPE.

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ed his hope and expectation that the two houses would confirm the resolutions formed by their predecessors for the support of the Pragmatic Sanction, the preservation of the balance of power, the liberties of Europe, and the security of his dominions. An address of thanks and approbation being moved as usual, a clause was proposed to entreat his majesty not to engage these kingdoms in a war for the preservation of his foreign dominions. In vindication of which, Mr. Shippen arose, and declared “that he was neither afraid nor ashamed to affirm that thirty years had made no change in any of his political opinions. He said that he was grown old in the house of commons, and had lived to see his conjectures and predictions ripened into knowledge.” — “I may,” said he, “perhaps fall under the censure of the house, and be once more treated as a criminal, for asserting what they who punish me cannot deny—that Hanoverian maxims are inconsistent with the interest and happiness of this nation—that the wise policy of the act of settlement ought to be adhered to—and that England ought not to be endangered, in order that the king’s foreign dominions may be secured.” — “Are we,” exclaimed with energy another member*, in re-

* Mr. Viner.

ference to the same question, "to stand up single in the defence of the Pragmatic Sanction? to fight for ever the quarrels of others? and live in perpetual war, that our neighbours may enjoy the advantages of peace?" The address, as it was originally moved, was however presented to the king, the opposition not deeming it a fit opportunity to make trial of their strength. But a petition from the electors of Westminster coming after a short interval under the cognisance of the house, the election of the sitting members, who were the court candidates, was declared void by a majority of four voices; and the high bailiff was committed to custody. Other controverted elections being likewise decided to the disadvantage of the court, and against its utmost exertions, sir Robert Walpole became sensible that his political career hastened to its termination. Anxious, however, to make one effort more to retain that authority which he had so long exercised almost without control, and which he could not now relinquish without danger, he caused a royal message to be sent to the prince of Wales, importing, that, if his royal highness would accede to terms with his majesty, his revenue should be immediately raised to 100,000*l.* per annum; 200,000*l.* should be advanced for the payment of his debts; he and his friends should

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Sir Robert
Walpole's
influence on
the decline

BOOK X. be taken into favor, and a suitable provision
 1742. made for all his followers. But the prince positively declared, “that he would accept of no such conditions, or of any conditions, while public affairs continued under the direction of sir Robert Walpole—whom he regarded as the bar which separated his majesty from the affections of his people—as the grand author of the national losses, disgraces, and grievances, at home and abroad.”

Sir Robert Walpole, in danger of an impeachment, resigns.

Repulsed in this attempt, the minister, now in imminent danger of an impeachment, endeavoured in vain to detach from their political connexion some of the leaders of the opposite party: and finding himself on the next division again left in a minority, he declared he would never more enter the walls of that house. On the ensuing day, February 3, 1742, the king adjourned both houses of parliament to the 18th; and immediately upon this adjournment sir Robert Walpole was created earl of Orford, and resigned all his employments.

Schism among the patriots.

Various intrigues and negotiations were carried on during this recess; and it soon appeared that a fatal division had taken place among the patriots, and that divers of them who had made the loudest professions of honor and virtue, who had repeatedly menaced the minister with clamors of inquiry and denunciations of ven-

geance, and who had boasted that no art could dissolve the cement by which they were united, had secretly acceded to an insidious and disgraceful accommodation with the court, of which the impunity of the late minister was understood to be a fundamental article. The duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pelham, with their adherents, were allowed to retain their places. The earl of Wilmington succeeded sir Robert Walpole as first lord commissioner of the treasury, and Mr. Sandys was appointed chancellor of the exchequer. Lord Carteret took the seals, as secretary of state for the foreign department, and was regarded as chief minister; and Mr. Pulteney, who refused to accept any office of responsibility, was sworn anew of the privy council, and was soon afterwards created earl of Bath:—but though he had flattered himself with the idea of guiding unseen the reins of government, he was never admitted to the least share of royal confidence, and remained the victim of his own treachery — “a solitary monument of blasted ambition.”

Treachery
of Mr. Pulteney.

The nation saw with astonishment and indignation, in this coalition of parties, a change, not of measures but of men; they saw the old system not only adopted, but confirmed and strengthened; they saw the same influence in parliament exerted for the same purposes; and

BOOK X. in the transports of their resentment the new
 1742. ministers were branded as apostates and betrayers of their country, and patriotism was ridiculed and exploded as an illusive and empty name *.

* The duke of Argyle, who had on the dismissal of sir Robert Walpole accepted the command of the royal regiment of horse, and master-generalship of the ordnance, on being apprised of the political collusion which had been practised, in a very short time, in the utmost resentment, threw up his places.

At or about this period an ODE was addressed by the celebrated AKENSIDE, the votary of Apollo in his twofold capacity—*per me concordant carmina, medicina meum est*—to Mr. Pulteney, under the name of CURIO, containing very bitter and poignant reflexions on his political apostacy. The following stanzas indignation has exalted into poetry.—

“ At length in view the glorious end appear’d,
 We saw thy spirit through the senate reign;
 And Freedom’s friends thy instant omen heard
 Of laws, for which their fathers bled in vain:—
 O Alfred, father of the English name,
 O valiant Edward, first in civil fame,
 O William, height of public virtue pure,
 Bend from your radiant seats a joyful eye,
 Behold the sum of all your labors nigh,
 Your plans of law complete, your ends of rule secure.

“ ’Twas then, O shame! O soul from faith estrang’d,
 O Albion, oft to flatt’ring vows a prey;
 ’Twas then—thy thought what sudden phrensy chang’d?
 What rushing palsy took thy strength away?

Soon after the new ministry had entered upon their functions, the *pension bill*, which had been formerly the darling object of the patriots, was revived and passed by the commons, but once more received sentence of condemnation from the lords; *lord Carteret himself giving his vote against it.* A motion made for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the septennial act was vehemently opposed by Mr. Pulteney and Mr. Sandys, and the question passed in the negative. The place bill, now brought forward by Mr. Lyttelton, met with the same fate. The motion for an inquiry into the conduct of Robert earl of Orford, during the twenty years of his administration, was also rejected; but the motion being renewed, and limited to the last ten years, it was with great difficulty carried against the court: but a subsidiary bill, for indemnifying those who should be summoned to give evidence against that nobleman, was rejected, after it had passed the commons, through the opposition of lord Carteret: so that the inquiry proved, as it was no doubt intended

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The new
ministry
oppose all
reform.

Is this the man in Freedom's cause approv'd?

The man so great, so honor'd, so belov'd?

Whom the dead envied, and the living bless'd?

This patient slave by tinsel bonds allur'd?

This wretched suitor for a boon abjur'd?

Whom those that fear'd him scorn, that trusted him detest."

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to prove, finally abortive. Two reports, however, were actually presented by the committee of inquiry to the house, by which, among other interesting particulars, it appears on record, that, exclusive of all the open and avowed means of influence, the enormous sum of one million four hundred and fifty-three thousand pounds had been expended during the last ten years for *secret service*. Paxton, solicitor to the treasury, refusing to answer interrogatories put to him by the committee, was committed to close custody, but still persisted in his contumacy; and Scroope, secretary to the treasury, through whose hands vast sums had passed, declared, that he could not *in conscience*, after consulting the ablest lawyers and divines, and laying his case before his majesty, to whom alone he thought himself responsible, discover in what manner this money had been expended, or to what purposes appropriated. And the committee state in their reports, as a subject of most serious complaint, that the very magnitude and extent of the evil are become the means of screening it from detection and punishment.

Among those whose eloquence enforced a reluctant adoption of the motion of inquiry, no one more distinguished himself than Mr. Pitt, a young man of extraordinary talents,

who had risen during the few years he had sat in the house of commons into very high reputation. In reply to the pretext of danger to the state from this investigation, he declared “that he was so far from apprehending danger from this inquiry, that he firmly believed the nation could only be injured by a long neglect of such examinations.”—“Is it,” said he, “unbecoming the wisdom and dignity of this assembly, to inquire to what causes and to what misconduct it is to be imputed, that we are neither able to acquire the laurels of war, nor to enjoy the blessings of peace? that, during the long continuance of the national tranquillity, our debts have not been diminished from that state to which they were raised by fighting at our expense the general quarrel of mankind? why the sinking fund, that inviolable deposit, has been annually diverted from its appropriated purposes? I fear not to declare, that I expect, in consequence of such inquiry, to find, that our treasure has been exhausted, not to humble our enemies, or to obviate domestic insurrections—not to support our allies, or to suppress our factions—but for purposes which no man who loves his country can think of without indignation—the purchase of votes, the bribing of boroughs, the enriching of hirelings, the multiplying of dependants, the

BOOK X. corruption of senates. If those to whom the
 1742. administration of affairs has been for twenty
 years confided, have betrayed their trust—if
 they have invaded the public rights with the
 public treasure, and employed the power com-
 mitted to them by their country only to enslave
 it, who will not acknowledge that a sacrifice to
 justice is called for? that they ought to be set as
 landmarks to posterity, to warn those who
 shall hereafter launch on the ocean of power,
 not to be too confident of an ever-prosperous
 gale, but to remember that there are rocks
 on which whoever rushes must inevitably pe-
 rish * ?”

Review of
 sir Robert
 Walpole's
 administra-
 tion.

In forming a just estimate of the political
 character of sir Robert Walpole, who for more
 than twenty years governed these kingdoms
 with distinguished reputation and ability, we
 shall find ample ground both for applause and
 censure. Regarding him in the most favorable
 point of view, we are compelled to acknowledge
 that, under the auspices of this minister, justice

* A bill appointing commissioners, seven in number, for
 taking, examining, and stating, the public accounts of the
 kingdom, passed with little opposition; but, on the ballot, the
 courtiers exerted themselves so successfully, that the numbers
 were decidedly in favor of the court list; upon which the pa-
 triots, in sullen resentment, suffered the bill, after being re-
 ported, to be finally thrown out.

was equitably and impartially administered; BOOK X.
1742.
the prerogative of the monarch was invariably restrained within the strict limits of the law; commerce was, by many wise laws, encouraged and extended; the riches of the nation rapidly increased; and the rights and liberties of the people were maintained inviolate. But, if we contemplate the interior policy of his administration, we perceive it, however fair in appearance, *rotten at the core, tainted and sicklied o'er* with the cadaverous hue of corruption; and threatening, in its progress, to undermine all public virtue, and to extinguish every spark of public spirit. Compelled, in order to secure the favor of his sovereign, and with the vain hope to perpetuate himself in office, to adopt measures contrary to his better judgement and the true interests of his country, he saw that the most, or rather the only, certain method of carrying those obnoxious measures into effect, was to create an interest in parliament separate from that of the people. By the basest and most degrading arts of political depravity, a majority of votes in both houses was obtained and secured; and since the establishment of this system of ministerial corruption, which has descended to us in its full force, the deliberations of parliament are become little better than the conflicts of

BOOK X. faction, or the empty forms of freedom *.
 1742. Parliament, which ought to exhibit an unclouded display of wisdom, integrity, and benevolence combined in one illustrious assemblage, is virtually degraded to a court convened only for the purpose of enregistering the royal edicts. It is not the grave and well-weighed counsels of the legislature which, under this system, direct the movements of the executive

* Foreign, as it may justly be deemed, from the purpose of history, which descends not to the contemplation of the private characters of men, any further than they may be interwoven with their public life, it may be transiently remarked that this minister, although he cannot be applauded for the purity of his morals, possessed, in an eminent degree, all those happy social qualities which conciliate affection, if they fail to engage esteem. This striking trait of sir Robert Walpole's general character has been touched in a masterly manner by the poetic pencil of POPE:

“ Seen him I have, but in his happier hour
 Of social pleasure, ill exchang'd for power;
 Seen him uncumber'd with the venal tribe,
 Smile without art, and win without a bribe.”

Sir Robert Walpole, in person, was tall, somewhat bulky, and his countenance is described as noble and benign. Of his attachment to the fine arts, the magnificent collection of pictures at Houghton *was* a very decisive proof; but his neglect or contempt of literature, though not himself wholly devoid of learning, exposed him to continual disgrace; for, while the measures of his administration were attacked by

power; but it is the caprice, the pride, and the folly of the executive power, which have too frequently influenced and governed the volitions of the legislative body. It is an acknowledged truth, a truth upon parliamentary record—that “*the influence of the crown ought to be diminished;*” but no vigorous steps have yet been taken to effect that diminution. A reform of the representation, a reduction of the standing military force, a progressive redemp-

men of the highest talents, they were vindicated only by scribblers, who were liberally paid for writing what even the most partial friends of the minister could scarcely endure to read. A pension of three thousand livres, granted by Louis the Fifteenth to the celebrated M. Crebillon, gave rise in England to the following *jeu d’esprit*:

“At reading this, great WALPOLE shook his head;

How! wit and genius help a man to bread?

With better skill we pension and promote;

None eat with us who cannot give a vote.”

A gentleman yet living, who, though more than half a century has since rolled away, himself attended the return of sir Robert Walpole from court after his resignation, relates that a prodigious crowd had assembled in the vicinity of the palace; and on the first appearance of the now fallen minister he was received with hisses and exclamations of insult. With a serene and unaltered countenance, nevertheless, he advanced forward, and the noise and tumult subsided gradually into a profound silence—the populace falling back on each side to make a free passage to the carriage waiting to receive him at the palace-gate.

BOOK X.

1742.

tion of the public debt, and a total abolition of all useless and superfluous places, pensions, and sinecures, upon which the monster CORRUPTION feeds and thrives, are alone adequate to accomplish the mighty task of a national regeneration. And if that energy and virtue are wanting in the community at large, which will in time incite to the adoption of such means as are necessary to effectuate this end, what remains but to await, in deep and tranquil silence, the moment in which the national liberty is fated finally to terminate in that absolute monarchy which, according to a profound and celebrated writer, forms the true *euthanasia* of the BRITISH CONSTITUTION?

The new administration was now completely formed, and the whole formidable series of patriotic motions had been successfully consigned, by their former advocates, to repose and oblivion. Affairs, therefore, now reverting to their regular and accustomed channels, the house of commons was moved, by the chancellor of the exchequer, to resolve itself into a committee of supply; and, conformably to the estimates and resolutions brought forward, upwards of a hundred thousand seamen and landmen were voted for the service of the current year; the sum of five hundred thousand pounds was granted to the queen of Hungary, and the subsidies to

Denmark and Hesse Cassel continued *. But BOOK X.
 this was deemed by the court a very inadequate 1742.
 aid; and it soon appeared that the new mini- Great Bri-
 ster, lord Carteret, a man haughty and confi- tain en-
 dent, had formed vast and dangerous projects, gages in the
 calculated for the sole purpose of recommen- wars of the
 ding himself to the favor of the king, who was continent.

* "Such," says the Gothic annalist of the times, "were the exertions of the new ministers to make some *figure* with the people in support of the measures of his majesty, that no less than five millions seven hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds had been granted this session in the committee of supply: all of it," he adds exultingly, "*except 20,000*l.* voted for building Westminster bridge, for the purposes of the war, or for supplying the deficiencies of the expense of last year's warlike preparations.*" Is it not worth while, however, to pause a moment, and ask whether the community has not, *according to the calm verdict of reason*, derived more real and permanent advantage from the expenditure of the 20,000*l.* in a work of public utility and magnificence, than of the millions so eagerly and lavishly appropriated to the purposes of devastation and destruction? Is it pity or scorn, amazement or sorrow, indignation or derision, that such national infatuation as this is calculated in a philosophic mind most strongly to excite? Or is power delegated by communities to individuals only to multiply and perpetuate their own miseries? How forcibly does history confirm the humiliating reflexion of the poet:

"——— Man, proud man,
 Drest in a little brief authority,
 Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heav'n
 As make the angels weep."

BOOK X.

1742.

ambitious to signalise his talents, as king WILLIAM had formerly done, at the head of a grand continental army. With this view, therefore, sixteen thousand regular troops, afterwards increased to a much larger number, and which might have been employed to great advantage in different naval expeditions, were, in the month of April 1742, embarked for Flanders, and were shortly after joined by sixteen thousand Hanoverians and six thousand Hessians, in British pay, and a numerous body of Austrians. The earl of Stair, created, on the recent resignation of the duke of Argyle, field-marshal of Great Britain, a nobleman distinguished as well for his personal accomplishments as his military and political talents, was appointed generalissimo of this new army. Being invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary to the States-General, he exerted in vain the whole force of his eloquence to prevail upon their high mightinesses to concur in the projects of the king of Great Britain. Although the states had come to a previous resolution considerably to augment their forces, they declared their determination to adhere to their neutrality. And the English general, finding himself unable, without their assistance, to engage in those offensive operations he had in contemplation, which were said to be the siege

of Dunkirk, to be followed, if successful, by a rapid march to the Somme, distributed his army into cantonments in the countries of Flanders, Liege, and Luxemburg.

Lord Stair's negotiation proving ineffectual, lord Carteret was himself delegated with new propositions for the consideration and choice of their high mightinesses: 1. That the republic should declare war against France in concert with England, &c.: 2. That they should garrison the fortified towns in Flanders belonging to the queen of Hungary, to enable her to employ her troops in the field: 3. That Great Britain should take thirty thousand of the troops of Holland into British pay: Lastly, To enter into a new treaty of commerce very advantageous to the republic. The States-General, in reply, declared their reluctance, by entering into the war, to make it more bloody: they with a noble pride asserted, that the troops of the republic were raised only for the defence of the republic, and *they had never hired them out*. As to the last proposition, it was acknowledged to be very acceptable, but too dearly purchased at the expense of a war. These answers, however consonant to the moderation, wisdom, and dignity of the republic, gave little satisfaction to the English minister, who returned to London much displeased and disappointed at his failure.

BOOK XA

1742.

When the parliament of Great Britain met in November 1742, the conduct of the new ministry was arraigned in the bitterest terms of severity. The earl of Chesterfield, who had not been included in the new arrangements of office, asserted, “that the assembling an army in Flanders, without the concurrence of the States-General, or any other power engaged by treaty, or bound by interest, to support the queen of Hungary, was a rash and ridiculous measure; that it would inevitably involve the nation as principals in an expensive and ruinous war; and that the arms and wealth of Great Britain alone were not adequate to the purpose of raising the house of Austria to its former height of elevation; that, while England exhausted her resources to carry into effect her romantic and impracticable projects, the electorate of Hanover, though under the same engagements, and governed by the same prince, contributed nothing as an ally to her assistance, but was paid by Great Britain for all the forces it had sent into the field, and at a very exorbitant price.—After having exalted the elector of Hanover from a state of obscurity to the crown, this nation,” said his lordship, “is condemned to hire the troops of that electorate to fight in their own cause, to hire them at a rate which was never demanded before, and to pay levy-money for them, though it is known

to all Europe that they were not raised for this occasion."—The duke of Bedford also, a nobleman of many private and public virtues, and of a family illustriously distinguished by the ardor of its attachment to the true interests of their country, affirmed, on this occasion, "that the measures of the English ministry had long been regulated by the interest of his majesty's electoral territories; that these had long been considered as a gulf, into which the treasures of Great Britain had been thrown; that the state of Hanover had been changed, without any visible cause, since the accession of its princes to the throne of England. The marks of affluence and prosperity were of late discernible in all its districts, without any discovery of mines or extension of commerce; and new dominions had been purchased, the price of which it was more than suspected was never paid from the revenues of Hanover."—The motion, however, for an address to the throne, "beseeching and advising his majesty to exonerate his subjects of the charge and burden of those mercenaries who were taken into the service last year without the knowledge or consent of parliament," was rejected; lord Carteret, the new minister, with heroic effrontery, setting every appearance of consistency at defiance, and engaging with the most zealous ardor in the prosecution

BOOK X. and defence of measures which he had himself
1742. repeatedly held up to the public scorn, indignation, and derision.

In the course of the session, the place bill was again brought forward, and again rejected by the commons; the numbers, on the division, being 221 against 196. Mr. Sandys declared himself indeed to be as great, if not a greater, friend than ever to the bill, but that the *time* was improper; that it was necessary previously to remove certain prejudices which had been scattered round the throne; and that he was against urging the measure at present, because he hoped the period would shortly arrive when it would be readily agreed to by every branch of the legislature. A motion for reviving the inquiry into the conduct of sir Robert Walpole for the last ten years, was negatived by 253 against 186.

1743. In pursuance of the plan of continental warfare now adopted by the court of London, the earl of Stair assembled the confederate forces early in the spring (A.D. 1743), with a view, as was believed, of penetrating the frontier of France on the side of the Moselle; but being opposed by the Austrian and Hanoverian generals intrusted with the secret resolves of the English court, the whole army directed its course towards the Maine. On their near ap-

proach to Francfort, the emperor, alarmed with the apprehension of falling as a captive into the hands of the king of England, prepared to fly for refuge, though he seemed scarcely to know whither; but the English commander deputed, without delay, an officer of distinction with a message to his imperial majesty, assuring him, in the name of the king his master, that the respect due to the imperial dignity should not be violated, nor the city he had chosen for his personal residence molested. The emperor, notwithstanding, retired first to Munich, and, on the re-approach of the Austrians, to Augs-burg, whence he returned, at the termination of the campaign, to his former residence at Francfort. The court of Versailles, which had in vain made advances of accommodation to the court of Vienna, now apprehending the junction of the allies commanded by lord Stair with the Austrians under prince Charles of Lorraine, directed the mareschal de Noailles to assemble an army of 60,000 men on the Maine, while the mareschal de Coigné was placed at the head of a yet superior army in Alsace, to oppose any attempt of the Austrian commander to penetrate into France by forcing the passage of the Rhine.

The king of England, eager to gather those laurels which imagination had already woven

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into wreaths and garlands, accompanied by his younger son the duke of Cumberland—now, for the first time, appearing in the field—arrived in June at the camp of Aschaffenburg. Here, however, to his unspeakable surprise and chagrin, the monarch soon found himself and his whole army reduced to a very critical situation, by the superior skill and conduct of the mareschal de Noailles, whose plan of military operations during this campaign, the king of Prussia tells us, would have done honor to the most renowned captain. This general had, early in the summer, taken possession of the cities of Spire, Worms, and Oppenheim, and, passing the Rhine, had encamped on the east side of the river, above Francfort, in a position which commanded the navigation of the Upper Maine; at the same time occupying all the adjacent posts on the Rhine and Maine, so as effectually to bar all access with the surrounding country, and to intercept all convoys of provision or supply. The king of England, therefore, found himself under the necessity of decamping from Aschaffenburg, and directed his march to Hanau, where he expected to meet large reinforcements. But the mareschal, foreseeing that the allies would not long be able to maintain their position, had taken his measures accordingly; and on approaching the village of Dettingen,

his Britannic majesty found the French army drawn up in battle-array, with a view to oppose his further progress. BOOK XI.
1743.

To so perilous an extremity no king of England, in encountering a foreign enemy, had ever been reduced. In front were the narrow and dangerous defiles of Dettingen, occupied in force by the enemy; on the left flowed the river Maine, on the high opposite banks of which the French had planted a formidable line of batteries; on the right were mountains and woods, intersected by a morass; and all retreat was precluded by the vigilance of the French commander, who had taken possession of Aschaffenburg immediately on its being evacuated by the British forces. No event more favorable could be expected than that the whole army must in a short time surrender themselves prisoners of war; and the mareschal de Noailles might reasonably presume that for him was reserved the glory of avenging the fatal catastrophe of Poictiers. But the rash and inexperienced valor of the duc de Grammont blasted these brilliant hopes: advancing through the defiles, contrary to the express orders of the mareschal, who was compelled to move with the whole army in order to sustain this unseasonable attack, he offered the enemy battle upon equal terms in the enclosed plain. The

Battle of
Dettingen.
---King of
England in
danger of
being made
a prisoner.

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French charged with their usual impetuosity, but were received by the English with cool and determined intrepidity; the earl of Stair making the necessary previous dispositions with great military skill. The king himself displayed much personal courage. And the French were repulsed with great slaughter, and compelled to repass the Maine with the loss of six thousand men; though they suffered no molestation in their retreat, the king of England pursuing without delay his march to Hanau, impatient to receive his expected supplies and reinforcements. The duke of Cumberland, who fought with great gallantry, was wounded in the action.—At Hanau the king was visited by prince Charles of Lorraine and count Khevenhuller: but no operations of consequence took place during the remainder of this campaign, the original or specific object of which it might baffle the profoundest sagacity to devise.

Treaty of Worms.

Towards the latter end of the summer the allied army passed the Rhine at Mentz, and the king of England fixed his head-quarters at Worms. Here, the advances of the diet (who, solicitous to restore the peace of the empire, wrote letters to the king of England and the States-General, requesting, in concert with themselves, the mediation of the maritime powers,) being previously rejected, a treaty was signed

with the queen of Hungary and the king of Sardinia, who engaged to maintain forty thousand infantry and a proportionable corps of cavalry for the service of the queen of Hungary in Italy. The allurements held out to his Sardinian majesty were, an English subsidy of 280,000*l. per annum*, the transfer of certain districts of the Milanese, and the prospect of gaining the marquisate of Finale; her pretensions to which, by an article of this treaty, her Hungarian majesty most generously assigned over to this monarch; although an actual and unconditional cession of that territory to the republic of Genoa (to which it had anciently belonged, though wrested from her by the violence of the house of Austria) had been made by the late emperor Charles VI. for the sum of 400,000 golden crowns, for which it had been previously mortgaged; and which sum, it is true, her Hungarian majesty now condescended to grant her royal permission to the republic to receive from any power willing and able to repay it*. The republic remonstrated in the

* The tenth article of the treaty of Worms, relating to the cession of Finale, is a great historical curiosity, and exhibits the crooked and insidious policy of lord Carteret in a very striking point of view. It is as follows:—"As it is of importance to the public cause, that his majesty the king of Sardinia should have an immediate communication of his do-

BOOK X. *strongest manner against a treaty so injurious*
 1743. *to her rights; protesting also, in a memorial*
presented to the imperial diet, against this
transaction, and claiming the protection of
that august body,—Finale being an ancient

minions with the sea and with the maritime powers, her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia yields to him all the rights which she may have in any manner, and upon any title whatsoever, to the town and marquisate of Finale, which rights she yields and transfers, without any restrictions, to the king, in the same manner as she does the countries described in the foregoing article; in the just expectation that the republic of Genoa will facilitate, as far as shall be necessary, a disposition so indispensably requisite for the liberty and security of Italy, in consideration of the sum which shall be found due to the republic, without his majesty the king of Sardinia, or her majesty the queen of Hungary, being obliged to contribute to the payment of the said sum: Provided always, that the town of Finale be and remain for ever a free-port town, as is Leghorn; and that it shall be allowable for his majesty the king of Sardinia to re-establish there the forts which have been demolished, or to cause others to be built, according as he shall judge convenient."

It is evident that lord Carteret, conscious of the nefariousness of this attempt, dared not openly to sacrifice the faith and honor of the English nation, which had actually guaranteed, by the fourth article of the quadruple alliance, the possession of Finale to the Genoese, by making it a direct party in the transaction. It was no doubt the *purpose* of the English minister to persuade the parliament of Great Britain to pay the money in question, and to compel the senate of Genoa to take it. But, if he found the opposition to this measure too strong, he had this evasion in reserve, that the

and acknowledged fief of the empire. But BOOK X.
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 lord Carteret, who had accompanied the king of England to Germany, and negotiated this affair in person, treated the embassy of the republic with the most marked and insufferable contempt, though the queen of Hungary her-

Political
depravity
of lord Car-
teret.

rights of the queen of Hungary, if invalid in themselves, gave no additional sanction to the claims of the king of Sardinia; that the republic was not obliged to consent to the redemption of the mortgage, nor was Great Britain under any obligation to offer it. Thus a flagitious scheme was formed, which might be easily abandoned if found impracticable in the execution.

A negotiation at the close of the summer was carried on with the emperor, and articles of accommodation actually agreed upon, with the reluctant concurrence of the queen of Hungary, by which the hereditary dominions of the emperor were to be restored, on condition of a renunciation of his claims on the Austrian succession. By a separate article of the treaty, the sum of six millions of florins was, by a temporary assignment on certain lands, allotted to the emperor for the support of the imperial dignity, all deficiencies in the payment of which were to be made good by the king of England. Lord Carteret, however, resolving not to take upon himself the sole responsibility of this article, delayed the signing of the treaty till a messenger was dispatched to the regency in London, requiring their assent to it. But, to the surprise and chagrin both of the king and the emperor, the regency sent word, "that they were of opinion, it was better, till the accomplishment of a general peace, to leave the burden of supporting his imperial majesty on the court of France, who would soon be tired of the expense." The negotiation, therefore, proved ultimately abortive.

BOOK X. self hesitated to insist upon the validity of her
1743. claim.

In consequence of this abominable injustice the senate of Genoa concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with Spain, at Aranjuez, the following year—provoking, by this means, the implacable resentment of the house of Austria, which appeared to deem the absolute annihilation of the republic scarcely an adequate atonement for such an act of presumption. Her Hungarian majesty had nevertheless, in the course of the negotiation, remonstrated strongly against the bad policy of forcing, in a manner, the Genoese to become her enemies: but the necessity of her affairs, the impotence of the republic, and the superior importance of the Sardinian alliance, were urged by the British minister as sufficiently obviating all objections. The terms insisted on by his Sardinian majesty were, the being put in possession of the Vigevanesco, with that part of the duchy of Pavia lying between the Po and the Thessin, with the privilege of navigating on the Thessin; together with the towns of Placentia and Bobbio, and their dependencies; and all the tract of land from the source of the Nura to the lake Maggiore and the frontiers of the Swiss cantons. Such was the price of his Sardinian majesty's *friendship*. The queen

of Hungary exclaimed with reason against these conditions, as being "worse than her worst enemies would have demanded." BOOK X.
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In September, the allies, now encamped at Spire, were joined by twenty thousand Dutch auxiliaries,—the States-General, notwithstanding the solicitations and menaces of France, being at last prevailed upon openly to declare themselves in favor of the queen of Hungary. So anxious was the court of Versailles to prevent the accession of their high mightinesses to the confederacy against them, that M. de Fenelon, ambassador at the Hague, offered to put Dunkirk into their hands during the war, as a proof and pledge of the sincerity and good faith of the French monarch. But the influence of England, supported by the efforts of the house of Orange and its partisans, predominated over that of the Louvestein faction, combined as it was on this occasion with the disinterested and enlightened friends of the republic.

Mareschal Noailles having retired into Alsace, the allies, as if now pleased and proud to march about, made various random and fruitless incursions, and demolished the entrenchments already abandoned by the French on the banks of the Queich: after which they se-

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Earl of Stair
resigns his
commis-
sion.---His
character.

parated into winter quarters*. Prince Charles of Lorraine also, being foiled in his attempts to penetrate into France on the side of Alsace, by the mareschal de Coigné, marched back to the Palatinate; and the campaign closed with no decisive advantage on either side. But lord Stair, the English commander in chief, immediately on the termination of it, threw up his commission in high disgust, determined not to lend the authority of his name to military operations in the concerting and directing of which he had, by his own declaration, so little share. This celebrated nobleman was one of the most remarkable, and in all respects one of the most accomplished, personages of

* “Pour se convaincre,” says the king of Prussia, “du peu de suite qu’il y a dans les actions des hommes, il n’y a qu’à faire l’analyse de cette campagne. On assemble une armée sur le Mein, sans pourvoir à ses subsistances: la faim et la surprise obligent les alliés à se battre; ils sont vainqueurs des François; ils passent le Rhin, ils vont à Worms; le Speyerbach les arrête, sans qu’ils trouvent des expédiens pour en deposter les ennemis; ils avancent enfin sur le Speyerbach, que M. de Noailles les abandonne, et ils ne reçoivent les secours des Hollandois que pour prendre des quartiers d’hiver dans le Brabant et dans la Westphalie. Après quoi le roi George prit le chemin de Londres, pour y faire à son parlement, dans une harangue pompeuse, le recit de ses exploits.”—*Œuvres de Frederic II.*

his time. He had, early in life, distinguished himself by his zeal in support of the revolution, to the principles of which he continued ever steadily attached. Devoting himself to a military life, his valor and conduct were conspicuously displayed in the wars of the revolution and succession; and his knowledge and address being no less eminent than his courage, he was employed in various political negotiations, residing several years in a diplomatic capacity at the courts of Warsaw and Versailles. During the regency of the duke of Orleans, the earl of Stair rose to the highest degree of favor, and was admitted to the most intimate confidence of that prince; who, as we are told, upon some interesting political occasion, being asked what part his royal highness meant to take, replied, with a smile, "Whatever the English ambassador pleases." After passing through a variety of high offices, he was at length, in consequence of his determined opposition to the measures of sir Robert Walpole, divested of all his employments; and, retiring to Scotland, lived upon his estate many years in dignified obscurity. But on the formation of the continental army, he was recalled in the most flattering and honorable manner, in order to be placed at the head of it; and it is by many believed, that, if his plans had been

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adopted in their full extent, France would have found it difficult to resist the sudden and powerful impression which, in the spirit of a great commander, he is known to have meditated.

1744.

War de-
clared be-
tween
France and
England.

Early in the following spring, March 1744, war was formally declared by France against England; and, in a short time after, by England against France. In the declaration of France, the king of Great Britain was accused of a violation of his neutrality, and of having dissuaded the court of Vienna from acceding to any terms of accommodation. "The war," says the king of Prussia, speaking of the situation of affairs at this period, "had changed its object. The original idea of self-preservation on the part of the house of Austria had given place to projects of conquest. The success of the court of Vienna had excited its ambition; and there was no longer room to doubt that the dethronement of the emperor was in contemplation, and that the king of England secretly labored to effect the same purpose." The mild, the equitable, and pacific Fleury, who at the age of seventy had assumed the reins of government in France, and had successfully directed the councils of that great monarchy for a period of eighteen years, was now no more. And, in consequence of his demise, the court of Versailles appeared far less solicitous to terminate

the subsisting differences: and formal reciprocal declarations of war were now published by the courts of Versailles and Vienna. In the former, his most christian majesty charged the queen of Hungary with “obstinate implacability, with a fixed determination not to listen to terms of accommodation, and with harbouring projects of insatiable ambition, hatred, and revenge.” On the other hand, the queen of Hungary charged his most christian majesty with “a violation of his most solemn engagements respecting the pragmatic sanction; with insidiously inciting different pretenders to lay claim to the succession of the late emperor; with endeavouring to instigate the common enemy of Christendom against her; and with having acted the part of a public incendiary in the north of Europe, in order that the czarina might be prevented from assisting the house of Austria, while the armies of France were spreading desolation throughout the empire.” And all impartial persons were compelled to acknowledge that the criminations and recriminations of these opposite declarations were, to the misfortune of mankind—oppressed by the ceaseless contentions of these proud rival houses—strictly and literally true.

Vast preparations were now made by the court of Versailles for the ensuing campaign

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in Flanders, where an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men was assembled, under the command of the famous mareschal comte de Saxe, who invested and reduced the towns of Menin, Ypres, and Furnes. The allied army, commanded by the duke of Cumberland (a general of almost one whole year's experience), and very inferior to that of the French in force, was unable to impede the progress of his arms; which, however, received a sudden and unexpected check from the success of prince Charles of Lorraine, who, having found means to elude the vigilance of mareschal Coigné, had crossed the Rhine at the head of a numerous army, had secured the passes of Lorraine, and laid the whole country under contribution. Forty thousand men being detached to reinforce the army in Alsace, the allies ventured to approach the French commander, now acting on the defensive; but found no favorable opportunity of attack: and, after various inexplicable and inconsistent movements, they at length retired, without hazarding either seige or battle, into winter quarters*.

* The French garrison at Lisle, we are told, displayed their wit at the expense of the inactive warriors they could see from their walls. Harlequin was introduced upon the stage, pompously exhibiting a bundle of papers under each arm. Being asked what he had under the right, he answered,

In the mean time, all France was in consternation at the progress of the Austrians under the prince of Lorraine, accompanied by the veteran mareschal Traun. The fate of the kingdom seemed involved in the issue of a battle. But their schemes of conquest were entirely frustrated by the alarming intelligence that the king of Prussia had a second time entered the dominions of the queen of Hungary; that the city of Prague and all Bohemia had submitted almost without resistance, being entirely unsuspecting of danger, and consequently destitute of the proper means of defence. “Kings,” says one of the most respectable writers of antiquity, “have no reason to blame the people for changing for interest, since in that they do but imitate their masters, who are patterns of treachery and perfidiousness, and who think those men most capable of serving them who pay the least regard to honesty*.” Scarcely were the ratifications of the treaty of Breslaw exchanged, before the treaty itself was violated by one of the parties, in the apprehension that it would *eventually* be violated by the other: and Silesia was destined to be once more deluged in blood, in order to determine whether it *orders*; and what under the left, with equal solemnity—*counter-orders*.

* Plutarch, in vit. Pyrr.

BOOK X.  1744. should be subject to the tyranny of Austria or Brandenburg. Prince Charles immediately prepared to march to the relief of Bohemia, and repassed, by the light of the full moon, the Rhine, in the face of the French army, commanded by the mareschals de Coigné, Noailles, and Belleisle, who, it was suspected indeed, had still less inclination than ability to prevent his departure. The king of Prussia himself acknowledges, that the real motive of this invasion was his apprehension that the French would be compelled to conclude such a peace as the Austrian arrogance should prescribe; and that the whole force of the queen of Hungary would afterwards be employed in the recovery of Silesia; relying, as he tells us, little on the guarantee of England; and knowing that the king of England, in a letter written in his own hand to the queen of Hungary, had, in allusion to the conquest of Silesia, made use of this remarkable expression—"Madame, ce qui est bon à prendre est bon à rendre." The ostensible ground, however, for this hostile attack, was the restoration of the tranquillity of the empire, and the just rights of the emperor; for which purpose a treaty had been signed at Francfort on the 22d of May, 1744, in which the emperor, the king of Prussia, the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the elector Palatine, were the

“most high, and high contracting parties:” and by which they engaged themselves to oblige the queen of Hungary to reinstate his imperial majesty in his electoral dominions, to acknowledge the validity of his election, and to deliver up the archives of the empire still in her possession; and, by an article yet more alarming, to compel her Hungarian majesty to submit the various claims relative to the Austrian succession to a regular juridical decision. And the king of Prussia, in his public rescript to M. d’Andrie, his minister at the British court, expressed his indignation at “the interference of Great Britain in the internal affairs of the empire, and the unreasonableness of pretending, that such powerful and respectable princes as those of the empire should be obliged to regulate their conduct according to the inclinations of those among the English who strive to make their countrymen enter into foreign quarrels, that are of no manner of concern to England *.”

The prince of Lorraine, under the able direc-

* By the treaty of Francfort, the Hessians, to whom such immense sums had been paid in subsidies during the years of peace, not only refused further to co-operate with us as allies, but actually took a decided part in opposition to Great Britain, alarmed at the ambitious projects formed, with the concurrence of England, for the aggrandisement of the house of Austria.

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tion of mareschal Traun, proceeded from the banks of the Rhine, with rapid marches, into Bohemia, where the Austrians were reinforced by twenty thousand Saxons; the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, having signed with her Hungarian majesty a convention for the mutual guarantee of their dominions. This sudden return of the Austrian army entirely disconcerted the projects of the Prussian monarch, who, having advanced with some indiscretion towards the frontiers of the archduchy, was himself in imminent danger of having his retreat intercepted by the skilful manœuvres of mareschal Traun: and finding this wary and cautious veteran constantly encamped in inaccessible situations, he had no other resource remaining than to abandon his conquests in Bohemia, and to gain the passes of Silesia, which he effected not without great difficulty and loss, leaving his heavy artillery and magazines in the hands of the enemy*.

* The king of Prussia had no expectation of the reappearance of the Austrian army in Bohemia during this campaign, and highly resented the inactivity of the French generals, who, notwithstanding the urgent remonstrances of the Prussian minister Schmettau, made very faint and feeble efforts to impede the retreat of the prince of Lorraine from the French territories; little impressed, as it should seem, with the arguments of the court of Berlin, tending to show the *impolicy* of this conduct. “Schmettau (says his Prussian ma-

“Such,” says the king of Prussia, “was BOOK X.
1744. the end of a campaign, the commencement of which promised the most brilliant success;” and in the conduct of which he, with a noble ingenuousness, confesses himself chargeable with a series of errors, while he applauds the skill and sagacity of his antagonist as worthy of the highest admiration. “Mareschal Traun (says he) acted the part of Sertorius, and the king that of Pompey. The conduct of that commander in this campaign was a model of perfection, which every soldier who is attached to his profession ought to study and to imitate so far as he possesses the ability.” The king often mentioned this campaign as his *école de la guerre*, and mareschal Traun as his military preceptor; and

jesty) étoit désespéré de la mollesse des François. Il présentoit des mémoires au roi, il pressoit les ministres, il écrivoit aux maréchaux. Et quel risque couroit la France? Quand M. de Noailles auroit été battu, les troupes de la reine étoient également obligées de quitter l'Alsace; et si les François étoient victorieux, ils détruisoient l'armée Autrichienne, qui, vivement poursuivie, au lieu de repasser ses ponts du Rhin, se seroit noyée dans ce fleuve. Les François emportèrent le village d'Achenheim, et s'amuserent des formalités superflues, tandis que le prince de Lorraine mit ce temps à profit pour repasser le Rhin sur ses ponts de Beinheim, qu'il rompit avant l'aube du jour. Les François firent sonner des rodомontades; et le prince de Lorraine continua paisiblement sa marche par la Souabe et le Haut Palatinat pour entrer en Bohême.”—*Œuvres de Frederic II.*

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the prince of Lorraine, on his return to Vienna, was received with acclamations of applause, to which, though on all occasions he had displayed much personal gallantry, he had only a secondary claim.

During these transactions, count Seckendorf, the imperial general, being liberally supplied with subsidies from France, had found means to assemble an army, with which he made an irruption into Bavaria, and the emperor once more took possession of Munich, his capital. But this faint gleam of prosperity was of short duration: knowing that the Austrians, now triumphant in Bohemia, were once more preparing to expel him from his hereditary dominions, destitute of resource, and overwhelmed with a succession of misfortunes, he expired at Munich on January 18, 1745, of that most insupportable of sublunary ills—a broken heart; leaving to future ages a most striking and memorable example of the instability and vanity of human greatness*.

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Death of
the emperor Charles
VII.

* No apology can be necessary for recaling to the public recollection the beautiful lines of the late Dr. Johnson relative to this prince, in his masterly Imitation of the tenth Satire of Juvenal—

“ The bold Bavarian in a luckless hour

Tries the dread summits of Cæsarean power—

With unexpected legions bursts away,

And sees defenceless realms receive his sway.

The grand seignor, Mahmout V., had observed with exemplary and inviolable fidelity, during the troubles of the queen of Hungary, the treaty recently concluded with the emperor Charles VI.; and at this period, from the mere spontaneous impulse of generosity, he offered his mediation, in order to effect a general accommodation among the contending potentates of Christendom. For this purpose, the grand vizier delivered a rescript to the ministers of the belligerent powers resident at the Porte, replete with sentiments of justice and humanity. "WAR is affirmed, in this memorial, to be the malady which infects princes; but how just soever they may be in their commencement, wars cannot, with any shadow of justice, be long continued, because the consequences that attend them are worse than the evils they meant to take away. The Sublime Porte hoped, for these reasons, that the princes

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Mediation
of the Otto-
man Porte
rejected.

Short sway! Fair Austria spreads her mournful charms,
The queen, the beauty, sets the world in arms;
From hill to hill the beacon's rousing blaze
Spreads wide the hope of plunder and of praise;
The fierce Croatian, and the wild hussar,
And all the sons of ravage, crowd the war.
The baffled prince in honor's flattering bloom
Of hasty greatness finds the fatal doom;
His foes' derision, and his subjects' blame—
And steals to death from anguish and from shame."

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of Christendom would have put an end to the war, in order to prevent such calamities: but being informed by the ambassadors, envoys, residents, and agents, settled here, that they are about to take the field with very numerous armies this campaign, from whence nothing can be expected but black events, it has been thought proper to represent to all the ministers at the court of the most gracious, most invincible, most puissant emperor, the shadow of God upon earth, that, 1. This must occasion a vast effusion of human blood, and must expose a multitude of innocent families to ruin and destruction. 2. That it must give a sanction to the breach of all laws human and divine, by attributing to force what ought to belong to right, and thereby confound all order, industry, and arts. 3. That it must prove the cause of interrupting commerce even among the subjects of such powers as are not engaged in war, to the great loss and detriment of the human species in general. That his sublime highness, having a tender sense of humanity, which is natural to all great minds, has judged it proper to interpose, and to endeavour to find out the means of compromising these differences. The grand vizier, therefore, has thought it his duty to inform the respective powers at war of this most beneficent and laudable design in the sight of

God and man of his sublime highness, in order to know their sentiments thereupon." It is superfluous to say, that this offer was wholly unavailable: it was doubtless regarded as a hopeless and impracticable task so to explain the complicated politics of the European courts, as to have made this *ignorant barbarian* comprehend what it was that the Christian princes were quarrelling about.

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In a short time after the death of the emperor, the Austrian armies entered the electorate of Bavaria; and the young elector, unable to contend against such superior force, was compelled to abandon his capital, and retire to Augsburg; and a treaty was soon afterwards concluded at Fuessen between him and the queen of Hungary, by which an entire restitution of her conquests was made by that princess, in consequence of a relinquishment of all claims on the Austrian succession on the part of the elector; and—which was of far greater importance—his voice in favor of the grand duke of Tuscany at the ensuing election of an emperor of the Romans, and his acknowledgement of the validity of the electoral vote of Bohemia in the person of the queen: and the court of Vienna having now secured all the voices of the electoral college, those of Brandenburg and the Palatinate excepted, the grand duke was,

Duke of
Lorraine
elected em-
peror.

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operations
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many.

on the second of September 1745, declared emperor of the Romans at Francfort, by the name of Francis I.

Although the campaign of 1744 had redounded little to the reputation of the Prussian arms, the political views of the king were in a great measure answered by it. The French regained the ascendant on the Rhine, where they captured, after an obstinate resistance, the imperial city of Fribourg; and they were enabled to take the field in Flanders with redoubled force and vigor. The Prussian monarch, on his part, opened the campaign of 1745 in Silesia at the head of seventy thousand men; and the Austrians and Saxons having penetrated into that province through the defiles of Landshut, the two armies joined battle at Friedburg, and after a furious conflict, maintained from the early dawn of morning till noon, the Austrians were defeated with great loss; and, retiring into Bohemia, were followed thither by the king, whose career of victory showed that he had no longer mareschal Traun for his adversary, that officer having been appointed to the command of the army of the empire assembled for the protection of the diet at Francfort. The Prussian monarch however, conceiving himself abandoned by France, whose conquests on the Maese or the Scheld

were, as he affirmed to his most christian majesty, of no more advantage to Prussia than victories on the Scamander, would willingly have accommodated his differences with the empress-queen, by which appellation her Hungarian majesty was now distinguished; but that princess haughtily rejected his advances: and the prince of Lorraine received positive orders from the court of Vienna to risk another engagement. An opportunity offering itself of attacking the Prussians to advantage in their camp of Sohr, near Staudentz, a second pitched battle took place on the thirtieth of September; and though the Austrians seemed at first to have a fair prospect of success, forcing their way into the interior of the Prussian camp, and even carrying off the military chest and the king's own cabinet, they were finally repulsed. In this battle, the brother-princes Ferdinand and Louis of Brunswic were personally opposed to each other, and fought with an emulation of valor. Notwithstanding this victory, his Prussian majesty thought proper to retire from Bohemia, which he always considered as an ineligible and hazardous scene of military operation, and entered the rich and fertile country of Lusatia. And the Saxons being defeated, December 15, by the prince of Anhalt at Kesseldorf, his Polish majesty was obliged to aban-

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King of
Prussia
concludes a
separate
peace.

don the city of Dresden, of which his Prussian majesty took immediate possession: and, in consequence of the continued successes of that monarch, the empress-queen was at length induced to sign a treaty of peace at Dresden, January 1746, by which the king of Prussia acknowledged the grand duke of Tuscany as emperor; the electorate of Saxony, in consideration of the payment of one million of German crowns, was restored to his Polish majesty, and Silesia once more guarantied to Prussia.

Vehement remonstrances were made by France against this treaty, which she affected to resent as a violation of the most solemn engagements. But it is sufficiently evident, that both France and Prussia, from the commencement to the termination of their political connexion, were actuated entirely by the same motives; and that neither observed any faith with the other further than it happened to be conformable to their own separate interest.—

“What is the real language,” says the king of Prussia, “of these remonstrances of the court of Versailles? Conti knows so well how to detain the principal forces of the queen of Hungary in Germany, that he has repassed the Rhine, leaving any persons that pleased at liberty to elect an emperor; that Traun has been enabled to detach Grune to Saxony, pur-

posing to follow with the remainder of his troops, if the queen of Hungary thinks fit to employ them against you. I have done great things this campaign. *Mention* also has been made of you: I regret the dangerous situation in which you are placed, for your attachment to me; but glory is to be acquired only by sacrificing yourself for France. Be firm and constant, and suffer without complaining. Imitate the example of my other allies, whom I have abandoned indeed, but to whom I have given alms when they have lost their possessions. You, without doubt, will have ability to extricate yourself from these embarrassments; but if unfortunately you should be brought to ruin, I will engage that the French academy shall compose the funeral oration of your empire."—In a letter written with his own hand to the king of France, his Prussian majesty thus apologises for his defection: "After the letter addressed to your majesty in November last, I thought I had a right to expect from your majesty real and effective succors. I do not enter into the reasons which may have induced your majesty to abandon your allies to the caprice of fortune: for this time the valor of my troops has extricated me from the danger in which I found myself involved. Had I been overwhelmed by the number of my ene-

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mies, your majesty would have contented yourself with lamenting my fate, and I should have been left destitute of resource. Your majesty advises me to counsel myself: I have done so; and I find that reason loudly proclaims the necessity of putting a speedy termination to a war which at present exists without an object, since the Austrians are no longer the invaders of Alsace, and an emperor is actually chosen. Reason warns me to watch over my own safety; and to consider the formidable armament preparing by Russia on the one side, and the army of mareschal Traun advancing from the banks of the Rhine on the other. The Austrians and Saxons have sent their respective ministers to this place to negotiate a peace, and I have no other option than to sign it. May I hope for the happiness of being employed by your majesty to mediate a general pacification? the interests of France cannot be confided to any person more attached to your majesty than myself; and I beseech your majesty to believe, that the continuance of your friendship will be always dear and precious to me."—France was in reality too deeply engaged in her favorite projects of conquest in the Low Countries, to entertain any serious intention of granting efficacious assistance to the king of Prussia.

Early in the year 1745, mareschal Saxe, ac-

accompanied by the king and the dauphin, took
 the field at the head of an immense army, and
 invested the important city of Tournay. The
 allies, commanded by the duke of Cumberland,
 assisted by mareschal Conigseg and the prince
 of Waldeck, though far inferior in number, de-
 termined to make an effort for the relief of the
 place. On the 11th of May they advanced
 with great resolution to the attack of the French
 army, encamped under cover of the village of
 Fontenoy, and protected by a prodigious fire
 from the batteries they had planted on all
 sides. The enterprise was considered as a sin-
 gular instance of military rashness. But such
 was the intrepidity displayed by the English
 and Hanoverian infantry, that the French were
 driven beyond their lines, and in imminent
 danger of a defeat; but the Dutch failing in
 their attempt on the village of Fontenoy, and
 the English general not making, as it is said,
 the proper use of his first success, by dividing
 the column of attack after he had broke the
 centre of the French, mareschal Saxe had time
 to bring up his *corps de reserve*, and the English
 found themselves inclosed as it were within a
 circle of fire, from the redoubts which they had
 already passed, the masked batteries planted on
 each side, and the artillery, which, under the di-
 rection of mareschal Saxe himself, played upon

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them with dreadful execution in front. In this situation, the most heroic efforts were totally unavailing, and the allies were compelled to retreat with the loss of more than ten thousand men, to which that of the French was supposed nearly equal. But the extent of the misfortune could be known only by the consequences: Tournay surrendered, after a gallant defence, by an honorable capitulation; Ghent and Bruges were captured by a *coup de main*; Ostend, Dendermond, Nieuport, and Aeth, were successively reduced; and the allies retired for safety beyond the canal of Antwerp: and, at the end of the campaign, the king of France entered the city of Paris in triumph.

Rebellion in
Scotland.

Towards the latter end of the summer, the French court, desirous of causing an effectual diversion to the English army in Flanders, incited the son of the chevalier de St. George, usually styled *the Pretender*, a young man of a sanguine and adventurous disposition, to risk an invasion of Great Britain, then almost destitute of troops, and in a state of great apparent dissatisfaction with the government. It is not necessary to enter into a very circumstantial narrative of this bold but abortive attempt. Prince Charles, as he was called by his adherents, landed in the western islands of Scotland in the month of August, the king of England

being then at Hanover. The lords of the regency treated the first intelligence of his arrival as an idle tale; but, on receiving further and undoubted information that he had collected a considerable force, and was advancing southward, they issued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds for his apprehension, and dispatched a messenger to the continent to hasten the return of his majesty, making, at the same time, a requisition of six thousand auxiliaries, which the Dutch were by treaty under obligation to furnish; and several British regiments were also recalled from the Netherlands. Instructions were sent to the lords lieutenants throughout the kingdom to array the militia in their several counties, and commissions were issued to levy new regiments for the speedy and effectual suppression of this rebellion. Many different corps of volunteers were incorporated; addresses were presented from all parts, testifying the utmost abhorrence of this attempt to subvert the government; and, notwithstanding the previous symptoms of discontent, the whole kingdom seemed united as one man in the moment of danger, in support of the national religion, laws, and constitution. Sir John Cope, commander in chief of the forces in North Britain, advanced at the head of what troops he could collect to

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Inverness, in order to oppose the further progress of this adventurer, who, in the mean time, marched by another route to the capital; which surrendering to him without resistance September 16, 1745, he caused his father to be proclaimed king of Great Britain at the high cross of Edinburgh, declaring himself, at the same time, regent of his dominions, and fixing his head quarters at the palace of Holyroodhouse, the royal residence of his ancestors. On receiving this intelligence, sir John Cope hastened back to Edinburgh, and on the twentieth of September encamped with his army, consisting of about three thousand regular troops, near the village of Preston-pans, in the environs of the capital. Early the next morning, he was attacked, sword in hand, by the prince regent, at the head of about an equal number of Highlanders, who, in less than ten minutes, entirely broke the king's troops, unaccustomed to their ferocious and terrific mode of fighting. Sir John Cope was heavily censured for his presumption and ignorance on this occasion. Colonel Gardiner, an officer of distinguished merit, and himself a native of Scotland, remonstrating with him on the impropriety of the disposition he had made, was treated with neglect and rudeness, and predicted a total defeat; which, however, he dis-

dained to survive, falling gloriously, covered with wounds, in the midst of the enemy, and in sight of his own mansion.

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In consequence of this victory, the pretended prince regent saw himself absolute master of Scotland, a few fortresses excepted. He received large supplies from France, and was joined by the lords Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and many other persons of rank and distinction; and the enterprise, romantic as it originally appeared, began to wear a serious aspect. The Campbells, the Monroes, the MacDonalds, and other loyal clans, assembled, however, in arms, in defence of the government, under the earl of Loudon. An army was collected in England under general Wade, who received orders to march to the north, and proceeded as far as Newcastle. The prince pretender, however, resolving to try his fortune in the south, took the route of Carlisle, which surrendered to him in November. Another army, under sir John Ligonier, was now forming in Staffordshire; notwithstanding which, the prince determined to proceed, hoping for a co-operation from a body of French forces on the southern coast, and not doubting but he should be joined by great numbers of the English malcontents in his progress through the kingdom. In this expectation, however, he was grievously

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disappointed ; at Manchester, only, was he received with any demonstrations of joy. Crossing the Mersey at Stockport, he advanced through Macclesfield and Congleton to Derby, which was the extreme point of his progress ; for, understanding that the king had determined to take the field in person, and to set up the standard of England on Finchley Common—the earl of Stair, field-marshal of Great Britain, being, at this momentous crisis, again received into favor and confidence, and appointed general of the royal army—he took a sudden resolution, though he had actually advanced within a few days' march of the metropolis, to provide for his safety by a retreat. This amounted plainly to a virtual relinquishment of his object, which indeed could only be accomplished by a series of desperate efforts crowned with continual and decisive success. A single disaster must, in his situation, be fatal. No sooner was the resolution formed for retreating to the north, than it was carried into effect with almost incredible diligence and celerity. Abandoning Derby December 6, their vanguard entered Manchester on the ninth, and on the nineteenth they reached Carlisle ; and, after reinforcing the garrison at that place, the rebel army crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland, with all their artillery and military

stores, eluding the attempts of both the adverse armies to intercept them on this memorable march, in which no violence was offered, no outrage or rapine committed, in a country abounding with plunder, and presenting every temptation to the unrestrained indulgence of military rapacity. On the twenty-first of December Carlisle was invested by the duke of Cumberland, who had now assumed the chief command, and surrendered on the thirtieth at discretion. In the mean time, the prince regent proceeded to Glasgow, from which place he exacted heavy contributions, in revenge for the loyalty they had displayed in the course of the rebellion; after which he invested the castle of Stirling, though with little prospect of success.

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General Hawley, now at the head of the king's forces in North Britain, marched to Falkirk, in order to relieve this fortress by an attack upon the rebels. On the seventeenth of January 1746, however, the general was himself unexpectedly attacked by them, and after sustaining for some time a disorderly and irregular fight, was compelled to a precipitate retreat; not, indeed, suffering so much loss as disgrace; it having been customary with him to boast, that, with two regiments of dragoons, he would drive the rebel army from one end of

BOOK X. the kingdom to the other. The duke of Cum-
berland in person, being now arrived at Edin-
burg with large reinforcements, took upon him
the command, and moving towards Linlithgow,
the rebels not only abandoned the siege of Stir-
ling castle, but passed the Forth with evident
symptoms of consternation; and the prince
pretender still continuing to advance north-
ward, the duke of Cumberland, after securing
the important passes of Stirling and Perth, ad-
vanced to Aberdeen. This changeful drama
now drew towards a termination. In the be-
ginning of April (1746) the duke begun his
march from Aberdeen, and on the twelfth pass-
ed the deep and rapid river Spey, in sight of
the advanced posts of the enemy, without op-
position. At Nairne, his royal highness receiv-
ed intelligence that the prince pretender had
advanced from Inverness to Culloden, in order
to give him battle. On the sixteenth, the duke
decamped from Nairne early in the morning,
and, after a march of nine miles, perceived the
rebel army drawn up in battalia in thirteen di-
visions. About one in the afternoon the en-
gagement began, and the Highlanders attempt-
ed, as formerly at Preston-pans, to break the
royal troops, by rushing down with their broad-
swords and Lochaber axes; but being now pre-
pared for this mode of fighting, they received

the enemy with fixed bayonets, and kept up a continual firing by platoons, which did prodigious execution. Being thrown into visible disorder, the cavalry of the royal army attacked them in flank, and, in less than thirty minutes, the battle was converted into a general rout; and, orders being issued to give no quarter, vast numbers were slain in the pursuit. It is even affirmed, that unnecessary and wanton barbarities were committed on the persons and families of the rebels long after the cessation of resistance; and that the duke of Cumberland sullied the glory of his victory, by displaying a savage thirst of revenge, and a courage untinged with the feelings of humanity. As, nevertheless, the temper and conduct of this prince were upon no other occasion tainted with this imputation, it is reasonable to believe, either that he was transported into these temporary excesses by that rage which is so frequent and horrid a concomitant and characteristic of civil discord; or that he really conceived these severities to be necessary for the prevention of further resistance on the part of the rebels. The pretender escaped with great difficulty from the field of battle; and after wandering for the space of many months a wretched and solitary fugitive among woods and lakes and mountains, and passing through a series of

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the most extraordinary and romantic adventures, to be paralleled only by those of king Charles II. after the battle of Worcester, he found means, on the twentieth of September, to embark on board a small vessel, which conveyed him to Morlaix, in Bretagne. Thus ended the last effort of the Stuart family to re-ascend that throne which they had forfeited by folly the most egregious, and attempts the most flagitious and criminal. The executions which ensued on the suppression of this rebellion seemed much more numerous than the necessity of the case required; and the lords Balmerino, Lovat *, and Kilmarnock, suffered the sentence of decapitation on Tower Hill; as did also the earl of Derwentwater, without any form of trial, being arraigned on the sentence passed against him in 1716. The earl of Cromarty only received a pardon. Both houses of parliament presented addresses of congratulation to his majesty, and of thanks to his royal highness the duke on this auspicious occasion. The sum of twenty-five thousand pounds *per annum* was added, by the house of commons, to the revenue of the duke, now become the idol of the

* Lord Lovat, who was of a character infamously profligate, suffered with great dignity and resolution: "So much easier is it," says sir Dudley Carleton on a similar occasion, "for a man to die well than to live well."

nation, and extolled as equal to the most illustrious of its heroes.

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Uninterrupted triumphs of
mareschal
Saxe.

During these transactions in England, the triumphs of mareschal Saxe in Flanders still continued. The king of France, again taking the field in person, invested the city of Antwerp, which surrendered after a very slight resistance. Mons made a better defence, but was compelled to capitulate before the end of June: and St. Guislain and Charleroy shared the fate of Mons and Antwerp. On the second of December (1746) the trenches were opened before Namur, and on the twenty-third that strong and important fortress, after an unavailing effort previously made by the prince of Lorraine, who now commanded the confederate army, for its relief, surrendered to the arms of France. On the thirtieth of September mareschal Saxe crossed the Jaar, behind which river the allies were posted, near the village of Roucoux, in order to force them to a battle. After an obstinate conflict, in which the prince of Waldeck displayed heroic bravery, the allies were obliged to abandon their posts with the loss of five thousand men and thirty pieces of artillery, and retire to Maestricht; and this action terminated the campaign. A singular instance of presence of mind is recorded on this occasion of the earl

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of Crawford, who, being attended by his aide-du-camp and a few dragoons, had rode out the morning preceding the battle to reconnoitre the situation of the enemy, and fell in unexpectedly with one of their advanced guards. The sergeant who commanded it immediately ordered his men to present their pieces; but the earl, without the slightest emotion, told him there was no occasion for that ceremony, and inquired if he had seen any of the enemy's parties; and, being answered in the negative, replied, "*Très bien—tenez vous sur vos gardes—et si vous étiez attaqué, j'aurai soin que vous soyez soutenu **." This incident coming to the knowledge of mareschal Saxe, that commander dismissed an officer on his parole with a complimentary message to the earl, assuring him "that he could not pardon the sergeant for not procuring him the honor of his lordship's company to dinner."—The States of Holland began now to be seriously alarmed at the progress of the French, and declared themselves determined to carry on the war with increase of vigor.

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In March 1747, the allied forces took the field under the command of the duke of Cumberland; the prince of Waldeck and the ma-

* Very well—be upon your guard; and if you are attacked, I will take care that you shall be supported.

reschal Bathiani conducting the Dutch and Austrian troops under him. The whole army amounted to more than one hundred thousand men. But, on account of the unusual inclemency of the weather, mareschal Saxe remained in his cantonments, contenting himself with obstructing the supplies of the allied army, and publicly declaring he would teach the duke of Cumberland, when his forces were sufficiently diminished by hunger and sickness, that it is the first duty of a general to provide for the health and preservation of his troops. In April, the French commander detached count Lowendahl, at the head of thirty thousand men, to invade Dutch Flanders; and Sluys, Sas-van-Ghent, and Hulst, were quickly reduced. The French general now prepared for a descent on Zealand; and the whole Dutch nation being seized with extreme consternation, violent popular commotions took place throughout all the provinces. The people at large, ever attached to the house of Orange, and mindful of the important services rendered to the republic by that illustrious family, insisted upon the prince of Orange's being immediately invested with the dignity of stadtholder; and the States-General not choosing, or not daring, to oppose the general sense of the nation, the prince was on the second day of May (1747) declared

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stadtholder, and captain-general and admiral of the United Provinces; and, in the course of the ensuing year, the dignity was made hereditary in the house of Orange. Upon this change in affairs, many spirited resolutions passed in the assembly of the states. An augmentation of the army was decreed, the peasants were armed and exercised, inquiries were instituted into the conduct of the governors who had surrendered the towns on the frontier, and hostilities were denounced against France both by sea and land. Mareschal Saxe, regardless of these internal changes and commotions, advanced with the grand army to Louvaine; and the duke of Cumberland took post at Laffeldt, near Val, in order to cover the city of Maestricht. The mareschal determined upon a general attack, in order to dislodge the enemy, and open the way to Maestricht. The allies defended themselves with great resolution and perseverance; the French were repeatedly broken and dispersed; but fresh brigades continually succeeded to those which retired, and the village was three times lost and recovered. At length, the line being dangerously disordered by an impetuous assault of the French cavalry, the duke ordered a retreat, which was effected with inconsiderable loss, chiefly through the extraordinary intrepidity and presence of mind

of sir John Ligonier, who, at the head of a few British regiments of dragoons and squadrons of imperial horse arrested the pursuit of the whole French army. He was himself, his horse being killed under him, made prisoner; but the regiments he commanded retired unbroken from the field. When this officer was introduced to the presence of his most christian majesty, that monarch exclaimed, "When, sir, will the king your master deign to grant us peace?" And he was soon released on his parole, intrusted with certain general propositions of a pacific tendency for the consideration of the English court.

The military arrangements of the commander in chief were the subject of much censure on this occasion. When the French first appeared on the heights of Herdeeren, the mareschal Bathiani urged the necessity of an immediate attack, but his advice was received with coldness and neglect; and the commander in chief asking the mareschal where he might be found in case of need, the Austrian haughtily replied, that he should always be found at the head of his troops*. The allies however, notwithstand-

* We are told that a French officer remarking to an English private, who had been made prisoner after displaying extraordinary marks of valor, that if there had been fifty thousand such men as he in the allied army, they should have

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ing their late defeat, were still able to cover Maestricht from attack ; and mareschal Saxe, perceiving his original project disconcerted, detached count Lowendahl, with about fifty thousand men, to lay siege to Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, and accounted almost impregnable, being the *chef-d'œuvre* of the famous engineer Coehorn. The enemy appeared before the walls on the twelfth of July, and from this time to the middle of September a tremendous scene of carnage was exhibited. The roar of bombs, mortars, and cannon, was incessantly heard, and all the dreadful apparatus of war displayed. Baron Cronstrom, a gallant veteran, being appointed to the command of the fortress, repeated and desperate sallies were made by the garrison, and mines sprung with horrible success. It was generally believed that count Lowendahl would be obliged to abandon his enterprise ; but some inconsiderable breaches being made in a ravelin and two adjoining bastions, the count determined upon an assault. The governor, not imagining the breaches practicable, had taken no precautions to guard against the attack, which was made with astound-
found it very difficult to conquer them ; the Englishman replied, "There were men enough like me, but we wanted one like mareschal Saxe."

nishing intrepidity on the night of the sixteenth of September. The success of the attempt justified the apparent rashness of it. The French gained the ramparts, and formed, before the garrison could assemble. The baron, being awakened from his sleep, was informed that the French were in possession of the town, and with difficulty effected his own escape. Thus the enemy became entire masters of the navigation of the Scheldt. Lowendahl was promoted, in consequence of this success, to the rank of mareschal of France, and the king of France returned once more in triumph to Versailles.

Notwithstanding the successes of the French in Flanders, they began to feel the continuation of the war extremely burdensome; they had suffered great losses at sea; their navy had sustained repeated shocks; their commerce was ruined; their finances exhausted; the war in Italy had proved disastrous; the views of the French monarch in Germany were entirely frustrated; the election of a stadtholder had armed against him the whole power of Holland; and he knew that the courts of London and Vienna were in treaty with the czarina, who had actually issued orders for the march of forty thousand Russians from the banks of the Wolga to the borders of the Rhine. Moved by these considerations, his most chris-

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tian majesty made direct and repeated advances of accommodation to the courts of London and of the Hague; and though they were at first received with coldness, it was finally agreed that a congress should be opened at Aix la Chapelle, and which accordingly met early in the ensuing spring, March 1748; the earl of Sandwich and sir Thomas Robinson acting as ambassadors plenipotentiary from the king of Great Britain. After the conferences commenced, mareschal Saxe, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the allies, invested the city of Maestricht; but the preliminaries of peace being signed in the space of a few weeks, hostilities were suspended, and the city, which had been defended by the governor, baron d'Alva, with such skill and gallantry that the besiegers had made little progress, was happily preserved.

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Debates in
parliament.

Apostacy of
lord Carteret.

We are now to resume the narration of the domestic and political transactions of Great Britain, which has suffered great interruption through this long but necessary detail of foreign military operations. After the resignation of sir Robert Walpole, lord Carteret succeeded to all the plenitude of ministerial power, and he even seemed to enjoy the favor and confidence of the sovereign in a degree superior to his predecessor. The nation, however, heavily

complained that the war with Spain was become a secondary object, or rather was wholly neglected, while the affairs of the continent only engrossed the attention of the court, and of the minister, who had entirely forgotten his former eloquent declamations and invectives against standing armies, votes of credit, foreign subsidies, continental connexions; and whose speeches now breathed only glory, conquest, and defiance to France.

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A very courtly address being moved in the house of peers, December 1743, in reply to his majesty's speech from the throne, "recommending *measures of vigor*, and demanding supplies to enable him to enter into such engagements with other powers as might be necessary for the support of his allies, and the restoration of the balance of Europe;" the earl of Chesterfield rose, and expressed his hope that by *vigorous measures* were not intended such wild attempts and romantic expeditions as might hazard the national honor and safety, without the possibility of advantage; that we were not called upon to squander millions, and stain the fields of the continent with the blood of our countrymen, without being fully informed concerning the end and object of the war; that we were not to stand alone against the united power of the house of Bourbon, and sacrifice

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our lives and fortunes for those who will not endeavour to defend themselves. “The true interest of England, my lords,” said this nobleman, “is to be at peace with its neighbours; for peace is the parent of prosperity; and, when I find the governors of a nation inclined to war, I am always ready to ask them, by what mode of calculation they can compute the costs, or ascertain the consequences; and I think it my duty to warn them against such counsels as may precipitate their country into an abyss of poverty and ruin. When I hear a proposal for declaring war, I figure to myself a suspension of commerce, a decay of wealth, an increase of taxes, a state of impatience, anxiety, and discontent. Should the war prove unsuccessful, the acrimony of revenge will strongly incite us to the continuance of it. If it be prosperous, we shall be easily deluded into the imagination that the empty glitter of military glory is preferable to the plenty and tranquillity of peace; and that we flourish as a nation when we adorn our public halls with the standards and ensigns of Spain and France. To these general maxims, however, the conduct of the present ministers,” said his lordship, “may perhaps be cited as an exception; for, though the war with Spain is the only war desired by the people, and the only war which it

is their interest to prosecute, they who have assumed the management of our affairs appear neither fired by revenge, nor irritated by disgrace, at the losses and disappointments we have sustained in the progress of it. This war, so important to our commercial interests, only has been neglected—this alone has been forgotten. We have been told of the danger which may arise to the state from the boldness of political discussion — ‘*flagrante bello* ;’ but, my lords, who does not see that the expression is inapplicable, and that the noble secretary should have said *languente bello* ? Spain, weak and defenceless as she is, laughs at our armaments, and perceives no other consequence from our declaration of war than a greater license of plunder, and a more easy distribution of prizes.”

The minister, in a speech of great ability and eloquence, attempted to defend the measures of his administration. “He called the attention of the house to the state of affairs on the continent a few summers past, when the empire was over-run by the arms of France ; when the queen of Hungary was attacked by Prussia on the one side, and Bavaria on the other ; when, to secure her person from captivity, she was compelled to abandon her capital, and her condition was considered as hope-

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less and irretrievable. To the powerful assistance of Great Britain alone is it owing," said he, "that the armies of France have been obliged, with disgraceful precipitation, to evacuate the empire; that her ally, the emperor, is left, without succor, a helpless spectator of the conquest of his hereditary dominions; and that Prussia is converted from a dangerous enemy into a firm friend and ally. Such had been the success, and such the consequences, of the measures which he had recommended, and of which he now with confidence demanded the approbation and *vigorous support* of that illustrious assembly. Armies are only to be repelled by armies, and they who engage in war must resolve to sustain the calamities inseparable from it. In the present conjuncture, no measures can be called wise or prudent which are not vigorous. By vigor only can the house of Austria be restored, and by the restoration of the house of Austria only can the balance of power be preserved. That the war against Spain had been either negligently or unsuccessfully prosecuted the minister positively denied; at this moment we blockaded both her fleets and her armies. It was known to all Europe that the Spanish generals in Italy were continually embarrassed and impeded in all their enterprises by the operations of the British fleet. And it

is not, perhaps, easy to conceive a more destructive method of carrying on war than that of shutting up an army in an enemy's country, where it cannot be succored, and from which it cannot be recalled; no prospect remaining but that of perishing by hardships and famine. But Spain is not the adversary against which our force ought chiefly to be directed. There is an enemy nearer and more formidable—an enemy which, equally in war and peace, endeavours our destruction—an enemy so insidious, that the utmost friendship which can subsist between us is only an intermission of hostility—an enemy whose perpetual object it is in all her designs and transactions, whether she ratifies or violates treaties, whether she offers mediation or foment discord, whether she courts or insults her neighbours, to weaken and depress all other powers, and to exalt herself to universal dominion. The ambition and pride of France, infatuated as that nation is with the glory of their monarch and the desire of aggrandising their empire, are permanent and hereditary. If one king dies, another succeeds to the same views; and if a minister be removed, it is because they hope the grand design of enslaving the world will be more actively carried on by another. Against such an enemy if it be necessary to make war, it is surely necessary to

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prosecute it with our utmost force; because war is a calamity to which a desirable and secure termination can be put only by success, and success is only to be obtained by vigor. It is yet, my lords, happily in our power to check them in their career, and fix, it may be hoped, more lasting barriers of empire, which shall for ever destroy that thirst of boundless dominion which has given so much disturbance to mankind." Such were the glowing colors with which this eloquent statesman had the art to varnish over the rashness and absurdity of his measures; and such the arguments by which the house was induced to give its sanction to the proposed address.

A motion being made in the house of commons for the discharge of the Hanoverian mercenaries, Mr. Pitt contended, with much warmth, "that there existed no necessity of hiring auxiliary troops, since it had never been shown that either justice or policy required us to engage in the quarrels of the continent. The minister," he said, "affected to speak of the balance of power, the pragmatic sanction, the preservation of the queen of Hungary, as if England only were concerned in re-establishing the house of Austria in its former grandeur, and that the power of France were formidable to Great Britain alone. The king of

England, no less in his electoral than his regal capacity, had guarantied the pragmatic sanction, and the troops hired by England were, no less than ourselves, allies of the queen of Hungary. Supposing the assistance granted to the queen of Hungary a matter of right and justice, due by solemn treaty, Hanover is equally bound with us to observe the terms of this treaty. Or, if it be an act of mere generosity, why should the elector of Hanover display his generosity at the expense of the people of England? But the transactions of every year exhibited proofs of this *perfidious partiality*. Few of the members of that house, it might be presumed, had forgotten the ever memorable treaty, of which the tendency was discovered in the name—the treaty of Hanover; by which we disunited ourselves from Austria, destroyed that building which we may now endeavour in vain to raise again, and weakened the only power which it was our interest to strengthen. He declared, in animadverting on that paragraph of the king's speech which called the attention of parliament to the late change of affairs in Europe, that we had indeed felt a very remarkable change; from one extreme we had run to the utmost verge of another. Our former minister betrayed the interest of his country by his pusillanimity;

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our present minister sacrificed it by his Quixotism. Instead of acceding to every treaty however dishonorable, we now refuse to listen to any, however reasonable. In other respects the nation had experienced no change, notwithstanding the change of a few individuals in the administration; for the same prodigal, corrupt, adulatory spirit still pervaded all the departments of government. He affirmed, that we ought to have advised the queen of Hungary to have accepted the terms of the king of Prussia, when he first invaded Silesia: nay, we ought to have insisted on it, as the condition of our assisting her against any of the other claimants. Had we done this, the court of Vienna must have acceded to it; the queen of Hungary would have retained, in all human probability, firm possession of her other dominions; and the duke of Lorraine would have been elevated to the imperial throne. Instead of this, we encouraged the court of Vienna in its obstinacy, and gave the queen of Hungary reason to believe that we would support her against all the world; though, when Hanover appeared to be in danger, we immediately abandoned the interests of Austria, and co-operated with France to exalt the elector of Bavaria to the dignity of emperor. The accommodation between Austria and Prussia,

and the subsequent successes of the queen of Hungary, afforded us a fair opportunity of concluding the war. Peace was proposed by the emperor and France upon the moderate terms of *uti possidetis* ; but we were so far from advising the queen of Hungary to accept, that there is good reason to believe we advised her not to accept, of the terms offered. Nothing now would satisfy us but the conquest of Alsace and Lorraine, to serve as an equivalent for Silesia ; though a general jealousy now prevailed of the ambitious designs of Austria, which would effectually preclude any effort on the part of the princes of Germany in the prosecution of that romantic scheme. Deceived as the queen of Hungary had before been, she trusted, strange as it may seem, a second time to our delusive promises ; though I will venture to prophecy, that, whenever Hanover shall be a second time endangered, she will find herself a second time deceived. The temerity of our councils was equalled only by the timidity and feebleness of our operations. The whole campaign would have passed in supine inactivity, had not the French found an opportunity, through the misconduct of our generals, to attack us in a situation which exposed our whole army, and the person of his majesty, to the most imminent hazard of cap-

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tivity or destruction. Thank God! the courage of some of the French generals so far exceeded the limits of discretion, as to cause them voluntarily to relinquish the advantage they possessed; and the whole French army, after suffering a severe repulse, were compelled to retire with precipitation over the Maine. But instead of pursuing a flying enemy, we hastened our own retreat to Hanau, leaving our slain unburied on the field, and our wounded to the mercy of the enemy. This action may therefore, on our side, be called a *lucky escape*; but I shall never give my consent to honor it with the name of a victory. When the French at length repassed the Rhine at the approach of prince Charles of Lorraine, was any thing done by the allied army? I know of nothing but the exploit of sending a party of hussars into Lorraine with a manifesto, though the Dutch auxiliaries had then joined our army. But had we been seconded by the whole power of Holland, instead of a small detachment of their forces, the vast schemes we have formed would have been equally impracticable, and I should only have lamented that this wise republic had become insane through our example. I could wish erased from the annals and records of our history all mention of the famous treaty of Worms. By that destructive

and ridiculous measure we have taken upon ourselves a burden which it is impossible to support; and we have involved ourselves in the guilt of such an act of injustice towards Genoa as must alarm all Europe, and give the French a signal advantage. From thence all Europe will see what regard we have to equity when we think we have power; and we have shown how much it is the general interest to prevent its increase. I hope, therefore, we shall now see the necessity of putting a stop to the further prosecution of these dangerous and ruinous projects. If we put a negative upon this question, it may awaken ministers out of their delusive dream; if we agree to it, they will dream on until they have dreamed Europe and their country, as well as themselves, into perdition *."

* The characters of the two ministers, Walpole and Carteret, were contrasted by a political writer of this period with extraordinary felicity, in the following passage from Cicero, originally applied to Cæsar and Antony with his associates:—

"An vos estis ulla re cum eo comparandi? Fuit in illo ingenium, ratio, memoria, literæ, cura, cogitatio, diligentia. Multos annos regnare meditatus, magno labore quod cogitarat, effecerat: Muneribus, monumentis, congiariis, multitudinem imperitam delenierat; suos præmiis, adversarios clementiæ specie devinxerat—Quid multa? attulerat jam li-

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The same question which had been agitated with equal or greater warmth in the house of peers, was, in the course of the session, renewed with a slight variation in point of form. And the lords in opposition indulged themselves in vehement—although historic impartiality must pronounce them for the most part captious and groundless—invectives against the conduct of these mercenaries, and the gross partiality pretended to be shown them on all occasions. They were declared to be a burden on the nation, equally hateful and ignominious, and more the objects of political detestation than the enemies against whom they were employed; and the whole system of continental and Hanoverian politics became again the theme of the severest animadversion.

The earl of Halifax, a young nobleman distinguished by his political and personal accomplishments, expressed, in warm and eloquent language, “his indignation that England should be condemned to waste the treasure and the lives of its inhabitants in quarrels which either did not at all regard its interests, or regarded them only remotely and consequentially. He

beræ civitati partim metu, partim patientia, consuetudinem serviendi. Cum illo ego vos dominandi cupidine comparare possum, cæteris vero rebus nullo modo estis comparandi.”

declared himself unable to discover for what reason we, who were not principals in the war, and have no separate interests to promote, should hire mercenaries to carry it on, at an immense and intolerable expense.”—“We are now contending,” said this nobleman, “not for our rights and privileges—not for our persons, our liberty, or our property. We are attempting by force of arms to fix what the course of events is ever tending to unfix—the balance of Europe. The balance of Europe has a powerful and fascinating sound, which has been frequently employed to subject this nation to the oppressive exactions of foreign powers. When the people complain of the load of taxes, and the perpetual increase of burdens, of which they were never able to perceive any effect, or derive any advantage, they are stilled with the necessity of supporting the balance of Europe. When they cry aloud for justice against their domestic oppressors—when they demand that the deceivers and flatterers of the prince should be brought to punishment—and the proper interests of the nation alone diligently and faithfully pursued—they are censured and stigmatised as wretches ignorant of the true principles of policy, and who have no regard to the balance of Europe. The folly and guilt of this conduct were not unknown during the last ad-

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ministration to the noble lord who now assumed the direction of foreign affairs, and were reprobated by him with generous warmth and all the appearance of honest detestation. But we have often seen that opinions are variable with other human things. The system of the noble lord is now entirely changed, and, to use the language of the medical *charlatan*, the heart is removed to the other side."

Lord Carteret, with his accustomed energy of language and plausibility of argument, entered into an elaborate defence of his ministerial conduct. He declared, "that a proposition to withdraw all our forces from the continent, and, instead of courting danger in foreign countries, to sleep in security till we are awakened by an alarm upon our own coasts, would be far less unreasonable than the motion actually before the house; for, doubtless, it is better to enjoy peace, however precarious, than to carry on a war with certainty of defeat, and to rush into the field of battle only to be overborne by the number of our enemies. Is it seriously meant that we are to neglect all the rules of war and all the maxims of policy, and to set our enemies at defiance, expecting assistance from causes invisible or præternatural? The lords who support the motion must know, that a compliance with it would be vir-

tually to yield up all for which WILLIAM and MARLBOROUGH fought—all which can secure our own independence or the liberties of the continent. The topics enlarged upon by the noble lord, of numerous armies and burdensome expenses, are such as will always raise a declaimer high in the esteem of the people, whose sufferings he appears to compassionate, and whose cause he professes to defend; and measures, however necessary and however just, *must* be unpopular for a time, of which the expense is immediate and the advantage distant. It is the opinion of some, that, from the nature of our situation, we may bid defiance to the rest of mankind, and from our rocks and floating castles, look with unconcern and tranquillity upon all the commotions of the European kingdoms; but if any one monarchy has, by any means, arisen to such a height of grandeur as to make it justly formidable to the rest of Europe, threatening the eventual subversion of all the kingdoms on the continent, surely Great Britain has more cogent reasons than any other nation to endeavour the suppression of such a power, because of all nations she has most to lose; and, being furthest exalted above slavery, must feel proportionate pain from political depression. But this purpose can be effected only by supporting on the continent some

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power capable of opposing the ambitious projects of France; and it is universally admitted, that the house of Austria alone can be deemed of weight to be placed in the balance against the house of Bourbon. If the house of Austria is to be supported, we must submit to the expense necessary for its support. Nothing, therefore, can be more improper than this motion, unless it were intended that the cause of general liberty should be instantly and totally abandoned, and that we should submissively consign to France the fate of ourselves and our posterity. By the disseminations of falsehood and malignity the nation has been irritated, and discontent has, indeed, too generally prevailed: but, by the same arts, the same odium might and would have attended any other scheme; and the present clamor will, in a short time, give way to the force of reason and truth. Upon a former occasion, in which the neutrality of Hanover was the subject of discussion, I observed, that, if England were to be steered by that electorate, it were necessary that the rudder should be separated from the ship. This was then my opinion; for then, my lords, England was subservient to Hanover; but Hanover is now subservient to England, and regulated by our measures; for who can doubt but a neutrality might have been easily

obtained for that electorate? But his majesty scorned to exempt himself from hazard by countenancing the claims of ambition, and would not forbear to assist his ally only because her distress was urgent, and her danger imminent. It is evident, upon the whole, then, my lords, that the war has been conducted with wisdom and success—that the troops of Hanover were not retained but by the counsel and authority of the legislature—that they have been eminently useful in contributing to the expulsion of the armies of France—that, though objections more worthy of notice could be produced, those troops cannot, at this juncture, be dismissed, because other troops cannot be obtained so soon as the exigencies of the war require.”

The question was at length put, and the motion rejected by a majority of eighty-six peers against forty-six: but a very strong protest was signed by the minority, and the measure was manifestly carried in both houses by the influence of the court, against the unanimous voice of the nation, which loudly exclaimed against the interested ambition and political apostacy of the minister, who had now involved himself and his country too deeply in the quarrels of the continent to be able to recede either with honor or with safety.

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High trea-
son bill op-
posed by
the duke of
Bedford.

In the course of this important and interesting session, the house of commons, apprised of the recent machinations of the court of St. Germain, sent up to the lords a bill making it high treason to correspond with the sons of the pretender. On the commitment of this bill, the lord chancellor Hardwick moved, that the committee be instructed to receive a clause for continuing the penalties and forfeitures legally incurred by the descendants of traitors, to the death of the sons of the pretender, and which, by the operation of an act passed in the reign of queen Anne, expired with the pretender himself. On which the duke of Bedford arose, and, in a very able manner, stated his reasons for refusing his assent to the motion. His grace “declared his zeal for the security of the constitution, and of the settlement of the crown in the present family, to be in no degree inferior to that of any of their lordships; and he expressed his conviction that a prince forced upon us by the armies and fleets of France would be only the viceroy of the monarch to whom he owes his exaltation. Nevertheless,” said this nobleman, “your lordships will not be surprised that I am alarmed at the prospect of a law like this. I, whose family has suffered so lately the deprivation of its rank and fortune by the tyranny of a court—whose grandfather

was cut off by an unjust prosecution—and BOOK X.
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 whose father was condemned for many years to see himself divested of the rights of his birth, which were at length restored to him by more equitable judges ;—it is surely reasonable, my lords, that I should oppose the extension of penalties to the descendants of offenders, who have scarce myself escaped the blast of an attainder*. Whatever may be the malice of our enemies, the ill success of past attempts is a convincing proof that government can have no just cause of fear ; that recourse, therefore, need not be had to new degrees of severity, or

* In the illustrious roll of martyrs to the cause of liberty, no name stands more conspicuously distinguished, or is written in fairer characters, than that of lord RUSSEL, whose patriotism appears unsullied with any base alloy or personal resentment or interest. In reply to those sophistical reasons by which Burnet, afterwards bishop of Sarum, attempted to draw from this nobleman an inglorious acknowledgement of culpability in meditating resistance to tyranny, he made this excellent and memorable declaration—"That he could form no conception of a limited monarchy which had no right to defend its own limitations." So long as sensibility and gratitude are numbered among the affections of the human heart, so long shall we honor with a supreme reverence those who have dared to die for their country ; and, with an almost superstitious devotion,

" Kiss with joy the sacred earth

That gave a HAMPDEN or a RUSSEL birth."

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the enacting penal laws of an extraordinary kind, to prevent that which experience has shown impossible to be accomplished. On the present occasion, my lords, the people have demonstrated their loyalty by innumerable addresses from all parts, drawn up in terms expressive of the firmest fidelity and the warmest affection—professions which surely deserve far other return than the severity of a penal law, by which one person is condemned to suffer for the crime of another. If it be necessary, my lords, that subjects should obey their governors, it is no less necessary that governors should not harass their subjects by causeless suspicion; for this will certainly tend to weaken their affections—it may incite them to violate their duties. The multiplicity of penal laws, the establishment of armies, the distribution of pensions, are transitory and uncertain supports of government, which the first blasts of discontent may drive before it, and which have a tendency to produce that rage which they cannot furnish the means of resisting. Ten thousand penal laws cannot so much contribute to the establishment of the present royal family as one act of confidence, condescension, or bounty, by which the affections of the people may be conciliated. We are not, my lords, to appease the suspicions of the throne by sacrificing the safety

or happiness of the people: we are, indeed, to support our sovereign, but not by such means as to destroy the ends for which sovereignty was established—the public welfare and common security. How, then, can we assent to a measure which may involve thousands in undeserved misery, by punishing them for crimes which they did not commit, and which it was not in their power to prevent—and inflicting penalties in order to enrich by forfeitures the minions of a court? But exclusive of these considerations, and to advert to an objection of a different nature, what evidence exists by which it can be ascertained that there never will come a time, in which a superstitious, ambitious, or tyrannical prince may once more attempt the subversion of the rights and liberties of the kingdom? If then a time so fatal shall ever arrive, and another revolution be necessary, how must a law like this damp the ardor of that patriotism by which all revolutions have been accomplished! Who will be found hardy enough to oppose the crown, when not only himself but his whole posterity are involved in the danger and ruin of a failure? We are to reflect, that the king may not only be in danger from his people, but that the people may be in danger from their king: and as, on the one hand,

BOOK X. no privilege should be conferred tending to the
1743. encouragement of popular sedition; on the other, no prerogative ought to be endured which may incite to acts of royal oppression. The dependance of the monarch and the subject ought to be on reciprocal affection and mutual assistance; and if I am desirous of securing the throne, it is not by disarming the people, but by placing them as guards before it."

The clause in question was also vigorously and eloquently opposed by the lords Talbot, Chesterfield, and others—and defended by the lords Carteret and Hardwick, and Secker bishop of Oxford, though a measure flagrantly incompatible with the mild and benevolent spirit of Christianity. The question being put, it passed in the affirmative; but it was accompanied by a strong and animated protest.

The bill, when returned to the commons with this new and unexpected clause, occasioned great dissatisfaction and opposition. Mr. Fazakerley, the original mover of the bill, expressed in warm and indignant language his detestation of the clause added by the lords. "Forfeitures and confiscations," he said, "he had always regarded as unjust, cruel, and of dangerous consequence to the liberties of a free

people. As to the authority of Grotius and Puffendorf—which had been adduced in the course of an elaborate speech in defence of the amendment by the attorney general, sir Dudley Ryder—he said, they wrote in countries where forfeitures for treason had been established for ages, at a period far less enlightened than the present, when it would have been not only unusual but dangerous absolutely and explicitly to have condemned them, and an *indirect disapprobation* is easily discernible. At any rate, we are not blindly to resign our judgments either to the learned Grotius, or the learned Puffendorf. Still less satisfactory was the appeal made to the divine than to human authority in vindication of this law. It is certain that we find no such punishment inflicted by the law of Moses: and if David seized, as the learned gentleman has affirmed to the house, upon the estate of Saul, this was certainly the *commission*, and not the *penalty*, of treason. As to the case of Mephibosheth, he was not so much as accused of treason, but of ingratitude; and the punishment inflicted upon him was the mere act of arbitrary power. But admitting that the kings of the Jews acted upon the principle of this iniquitous law, their example can be no authority; for Samuel had

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before warned the Jews of the oppressions they were to expect from kings: he had told them that the king would take their fields, their vineyards, and their olive trees, and give the best of them to his servants. The charge of treason was no doubt made use of to furnish a pretext for these enormous injuries; and the experience of our own government may convince us what tyranny might be exercised under a veil so specious.

It will be alleged, perhaps, that this law, however inconsistent with humanity and justice, is necessary to the preservation of the government; but is this the fact in the eastern countries, where punishments still more horrid and barbarous are inflicted in cases of this nature? These unjust and odious penalties only serve to lull a government into a fatal security, and to embolden arbitrary ministers to tyrannise over the people, till, inflamed by repeated acts of oppression, the train is set fire to, and the ministers, with their master, are blown up by the combustibles which they had so assiduously prepared for the destruction of others."

The house, however, agreed to the amendment, by a majority of eighty voices; and a new proof was exhibited to the world of how

little estimation, in the view of princes, are BOOK X.
all considerations of moral and political jus- 1743.
tice, when deemed incompatible with their in-
terest or security.

BOOK XL.

State of Politics in the Kingdoms of the North. Naval Engagements with the French and Spaniards off Toulon. Lord Carteret's Resignation—Mr. Pelham First Minister. Motion by Mr. Carew for restoring Annual Parliaments. Earl of Chesterfield's able Conduct in Holland—and in Ireland. Conquest of Cape Breton. Convulsion in the Ministry—Lord Granville reinstated, and almost immediately resigns. Unsuccessful Attempt on Port L'Orient. Supplies lavishly voted by Parliament. Personal Sacrifices of the King. Act for abolishing the hereditary Jurisdictions in Scotland. Death of Philip V. King of Spain. Naval Victories of Admirals Anson and Hawke. New Parliament. Popularity of the Ministry. Peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle. State of domestic Politics. Character of Lord Bolingbroke. Death of the Prince of Wales. Ascendency of Lord Bute at the Court of Leicester House. Character of Lord Mansfield. Character of Mr. Pitt. Character of Mr. Fox. Innovations in the Mutiny Bill. Town of Halifax in the Province of Nova Scotia founded. Interest on the public Funds reduced. Act for the Encouragement of the British Fisheries. Convention of Madrid. Remarkable Acknowledgement of Mr. Pitt. Death of Juan V. King of Portugal. Regency Bill passed. Bill for reforming the Calendar. Death of Frederic King of Sweden. Intrigues of the Courts of London and Vienna to procure the Election of a King of the Romans. Laudable Plans of the Minister, Mr. Pelham. Bill for the Naturalisation of the Jews passed. Bill for the Naturalisation of the Jews repealed. Death of Mr.

Pelham—His Character. Duke of Newcastle Minister—His Incapacity. Barbarous Execution of Dr. Cameron. Disputes between the English Ministry and the Irish Parliament. State of Affairs in France—Bull Unigenitus. Opposite Pretensions of Great Britain and France respecting their Territorial Rights in America. Session of Parliament. Forces augmented by Sea and Land. Unfortunate Expedition of General Braddock. Defeat of the French by Sir William Johnson. Operations of the English Generals languid and unsuccessful. Capture of Oswego by the French. Capture of Fort William-Henry by the French. Neutrality of Spain. Treaties with Hesse Cassel and Russia. Alliance between Great Britain and Prussia. Treaty of Alliance between the Courts of Vienna and Versailles. Opposition of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to the Measures of the Court. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge dismissed from their Employments. Earthquake at Lisbon. England menaced with an Invasion. Ingloriously defended by Troops from Hanover. Patriotic Address of Mr. Onslow to the King. Attack upon Minorca—Admiral Byng dispatched to its Relief. Engagement between Byng and Galissoniere — Admiral Byng's Indecision and Misconduct. Minorca surrenders. Admiral Byng's Arrest, Trial, and Execution.

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State of politics in the kingdoms of the north.

THIS year, 1743, the Swedes terminated an unsuccessful war with Russia, by a peace signed at Abo, by which they were totally detached from their political connexion with France. This event, so intimately affecting the general state of politics in Europe, requires a distinct elucidation. At the death of the last monarch of Sweden, the celebrated Charles XII. (A. D. 1718,), who had governed with a sway the most

arbitrary and imperious, and whose rash and romantic enterprises had reduced his country to the verge of ruin, Sweden found itself in a situation the most favorable for finally abolishing despotism, and establishing a free and equal government on a solid and permanent basis. A diet being immediately convoked, the throne of Sweden was declared VACANT—Charles having died without issue, and the claim of his sisters to the succession being barred, conformably to a fundamental law of the kingdom, by their previous marriage. The states, therefore, determined to make an offer of the crown to Ulrica Eleanora, consort of Frederic hereditary prince of Hesse Cassel, subsequently associated in the government, to the exclusion of the duke of Holstein, son of the elder sister, on the express condition that this princess should declare her readiness to hold the crown in virtue of a FREE ELECTION; and should take an oath to adhere to the new *formula* or model of government, now, by the authority of the nation, solemnly instituted. “The counsellors and states of the kingdom assembled, having (as they express themselves) experienced the sad consequences of that arbitrary power which has so much weakened and injured the kingdom to the almost irreparable ruin of us all, have seriously and unanimously resolved to abolish

BOOK XI. entirely a power which has proved so prejudicial.”
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It is to be remarked, that the diet or states-general of the kingdom of Sweden consists of four distinct chambers or houses—the nobles, the clergy, the burghers, the peasants. These, agreeably to the constitution now established, were to be convoked every three years, or more frequently if occasion required. And should the king, or senate in his absence, neglect to assemble them at the expiration of this term, or even should they not convoke them on the very day the states had, the last time they were assembled, chosen to appoint for their next meeting, these should then have a right to assemble of themselves. And whatever the king or senate should have done in the mean time, was to be considered as void. The time specified for the shortest legal duration of the diet was three months; but the power of dissolution was vested in themselves alone. While the states were assembled, they were in fact possessed of the whole supreme power; the authority of the king and senate was then suspended—they became mere ciphers, having little or no share in the public transactions but what consisted simply in affixing their seals and signatures to whatever the diet should think proper to resolve. The legislative power

the states reserved at all times wholly to themselves, the king and the senate not even possessing a negative on those resolutions which directly attacked the regal and senatorial rights. "For the preservation of these," it is remarked with just derision*, "they were to depend on the *moderation of a popular assembly*." The following powers were likewise vested in the states alone; those of declaring war or making peace — that of altering the standard of the coin — whenever a vacancy happened in the senate, that of presenting to the king three persons, one of whom his majesty was bound to make choice of to fill the vacant office — lastly, that of dismissing any member of the senate whose conduct they disapproved. During the session of the diet, a standing secret committee was chosen, selected from the three orders of nobles, clergy, and burghers, of which one half were nobles — the order of peasants being too mean and insignificant to be associated in this commission — by which the ordinary functions of the senate were almost entirely superseded, and the executive powers of the government exclusively exercised. With regard to the judicial power, the states assumed to themselves

* Vide History of the Swedish Revolution, A. D. 1772, by Charles F. Sheridan, Esq.

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a right of exercising that also, whenever they thought proper, by taking at pleasure causes out of the high courts of justice established by law, to try them before a temporary tribunal erected by themselves, and composed of their own members. Nothing, therefore, could be more formidable than the power of this assembly, or more subversive of liberty; as, in reality, it united within itself the legislative, judicial, and executive powers—and as the province and jurisdiction of the occasional tribunal comprehended all cases of treason, sedition, and public libel, it was evidently, at the same time, both judge and party. Even during the intervals of the diets, the king was little more than a cipher of state, and was distinguished from the other senators, consisting of fourteen in number, only by the privilege of a double voice in the first instance, and of a casting vote in case of an equality of voices. The senate were empowered to assemble themselves whenever they thought proper, and to transact the national business whether the king were present or not; and to their resolutions his majesty was obliged to affix his signature. The great employments of the state were conferred by a majority of voices in the senate; and to others of inferior importance three persons were nominated by the senate, one of

whom the king was obliged to appoint. Thus BOOK XI.
the outward pomp and decorations of majesty 1743.
were almost all that remained of a prerogative
lately so formidable: but a more recent expe-
rience soon taught the Swedes that political
oppression might exist under a variety of forms,
and that the liberty of the people was not ne-
cessarily increased in proportion as the power
of the monarch was diminished; and the scenes
of corruption, distraction, and anarchy, which
ensued, were the most decisive proofs of the
numerous and radical defects of the new *for-*
mula of government. When compared with the
British constitution, the prodigious superiority
of the latter is manifest in almost every point
of view in which they can be placed—their
whole structure, genius, and spirit, forming a
most instructive and striking contrast. In En-
gland, the crown is vested by the constitution
with the whole active power of government,
subject to the authoritative inspection and
control of parliament; and it is also possessed,
by means of its extensive patronage, of that
degree of influence over the legislative body
which must not only preclude the idea of fo-
reign intrigue and interference, but of that
species of opposition which arises from the na-
tural and incessant desire of aggrandisement,
the interests of the individual members being

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1743. opposed to the aggregate interest of the body —the negative of the king and the power of dissolution coming likewise in aid of that prerogative which is at once so open to the attack, and so unequal to the encounter. On the other hand, the constitutional powers of parliament, and its component principles, are such as eminently to qualify it for its province of legislation and control. The house of commons is invested with the sole disposal of the national revenue, which, of itself, gives it a decided preponderance over the other, and, with respect to rank, the higher branch of the legislature. The commons of England are not, like the commons of Sweden, divided into distinct chambers, by which their collective force is sensibly enfeebled. The English house of commons likewise contains a much greater combination of interests than, in consequence of the absurd restraints on the freedom of election, can take place in Sweden; where the burghers and peasants must be actually of the several classes of the community which they represent. Also, in Sweden all the privileges of the nobility, that of sitting in the diet excepted, extending to all the descendants of nobles, a vast proportion of the landed property of the kingdom, and almost all the military and civil offices, are confined to that privileged class; the aristo-

cratic branch of the legislature, supported by BOOK XI.
this immense chain of connexions and de- 1743.
pendencies, rising far above all competition:
whereas in England the descendants of the nobility, the heirs of the title only excepted, are immediately blended with the general mass of the community, and their political interests stand consequently in unavoidable and direct opposition to those of their nearest relatives, as composing a distinct and privileged order. Thus the nobles of England are placed in that precise rank which properly belongs to the most illustrious order of citizens in a free and well-governed community. Invested with the highest dignity, though not the highest power, of the state, they compose an hereditary senate, peculiarly qualified, from that dissimilarity of views and interests by which, as a distinct branch of the legislature, they must be necessarily actuated, for the province of revision, and resistance to ambitious or insidious innovation—standing as a perpetual barrier against all attempts to encroach upon the constitutional prerogative of the crown, upon which they depend as the firmest basis of their own authority. For the weight of the democracy in the English constitution is such, as to preclude the aristocracy from the faintest hope of success in any contest for pre-eminence

BOOK XI. which might succeed the eventual reduction or
1743. annihilation of the regal power. It cannot certainly be pretended, that the progressive improvement of former ages, or even the important and beneficial changes which took place at the revolution, were the result of any comprehensive abstract speculation; they were such as the emergency of the occasion rendered obvious and necessary: and we speak of the wisdom of the constitution, not with a reference to the speculative sagacity of individuals, but to the practical advantages and firm contexture of a form of government finished, undoubtedly, more through happiness than pains. It is true, indeed, that, through the gross inequality of the present system of representation, destined doubtless, if liberty survive, to undergo a radical reform, a degree of influence is exerted by the executive power over the legislative inconsistent with the true spirit of the constitution, and productive of the most injurious effects. Under such a government as that established in Sweden, it can excite no astonishment that the intrigues of foreign courts should very powerfully and sensibly operate. In fact, from the æra of that establishment, all the apparently weak and capricious transactions of this kingdom were guided solely by the predominance of the different political factions, the

violent and malignant conflicts of which were BOOK XI.
excited and perpetuated by the most shameless 1743.
corruption, universally practised and almost
openly avowed. The whole power of the state
virtually resting in the hands of the nobles, no
advance was made, or design entertained, to
extend to the nation at large the blessings of
civil liberty. And the people, feeling them-
selves in no degree relieved from the oppres-
sion of the ancient government, notwithstand-
ing the system of political liberty recently
established—of the excellence of which they
heard indeed much, but comprehended little—
were loud in their complaints of the miscon-
duct and tyranny of their rulers.

The fixed policy of the leading men ori-
ginally concerned in framing the new form
of government *, who were persons of virtue
and probity, and, in all probability, far from
being sensible of its imperfections, was, to re-
nounce all ambition of foreign conquests, and
assiduously to cultivate the friendship of Rus-
sia, the superiority of whose power they had so
fatally experienced. And the influence of Rus-
sia continued, with little interruption, to pre-
dominate in their councils till the meeting of

* Count Horne is said to have been the person principally
concerned in the establishment of this constitution — a noble-
man of unquestionable abilities and integrity.

BOOK XI. the diet in 1738; when, through the profusion
1743. of French gold previously distributed among its members, a great majority appeared determined to abandon the alliance of Russia, and to enter into a strict connexion with the court of Versailles; which flattered them with the chimerical hope of recovering, by a rupture with the court of St. Petersburg, their long-lost provinces. And, at the instance of the French minister, war was actually declared by Sweden against Russia, without any just reasons or even plausible pretences; the real motive on the part of France being, as the queen of Hungary observed in her manifesto, to prevent the czarina from interposing in the affairs of the empire.

This unjust and impolitic war was undertaken by Sweden at a time when the armies of Russia were returning triumphant from the Turkish campaigns; and the success was such as might be reasonably expected: the Swedish army in Finland was destroyed, and the whole of that country lost. The generals Lewenhaupt and Buddenbroek were sacrificed to the fury of a faction. The government of Sweden, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Russians, were compelled to solicit a peace, which was granted upon very moderate terms; Russia restoring the whole of her conquests, a small di-

strict to the eastward of the Kymen only ex-
cepted. And, in return, the Swedes renewed
their alliance with Russia, and agreed to ap-
point Adolphus Frederic, bishop of Lubec, a
prince of the house of Holstein, nearly related
to the empress Elizabeth, successor to the pre-
sent king; the young duke of Holstein, grand-
son of the elder sister of Ulrica, being destined
to the succession of Russia, as nephew to the
empress, on his previous and formal renuncia-
tion of all claim to the crown of Sweden. In
allusion to this transaction, as likewise to the
late disposition of the crown of Poland, the im-
perial ambassador at Petersburg observed to
the empress, "that he wished his court had
found it as easy to keep possession of kingdoms
as it was to Russia to give them away."

Though France had thus, by the perfidy of
her own policy, lost one useful ally, she made
vigorous efforts to indemnify herself by the ac-
quisition of another—the contiguous kingdom
of Denmark. From the memorable æra in
which the Danes made a voluntary surrender
of their ancient liberties to the monarch, the
kings of Denmark had been possessed of au-
thority not inferior to that of any sovereigns
in Christendom; and the want of ability, rather
than of inclination, had since prevented them
from making a more conspicuous figure in the

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general history of Europe; as they never appeared reluctant or scrupulous in embracing any favorable opportunity of aggrandisement. Christiern V., who acceded to the throne A. D. 1670, waged unsuccessful war with the Swedes, in the vain hope of recovering the beautiful provinces of Halland, Schonen, and Bleking, lost by his father Frederic III. and ceded to Sweden by the treaty of Roschild, 1658. Christiern dying in 1699 was succeeded by his son Frederic IV., who, joining the confederacy against Charles XII., was besieged by that monarch in his capital, and compelled to submit to the terms dictated by Sweden, under the mediation of England and Holland, at the treaty of Travendahl. After the decline of that monarch's fortunes, Frederic renewed the war, and seized upon the duchies of Bremen, Verden, and Sleswic; the latter of which was guarantied to Denmark by king George I. in return for the cession of the two former to Hanover. This monarch dying A. D. 1730 was succeeded by Christiern VI., a sagacious and pacific prince, who aspired, nevertheless, when the succession to the throne of Sweden was vacant, to revive the ancient and celebrated union of Calmar; and to combine, by an indissoluble federation, the three Scandinavian kingdoms into one empire, under one head, in the person

of his son. Flattered with the aid and assistance of France in the accomplishment of this great object of his ambition, he relinquished, at this period, the alliance, and refused the subsidies, of Great Britain, in order to connect himself with that rival power. But notwithstanding that the idea of this union was very popular in Sweden, and was supported by a very strong party in the diet, the opposing politics of Russia proved finally successful; and the king of Denmark had the good sense to desist from the further prosecution of a project which it was become too hazardous to attempt to enforce, although great military preparations had been made for that purpose. But the czarina declared, that, if the Swedes were attacked, she would assist them with the whole force of her empire. The good understanding between Denmark and Great Britain was, immediately on the relinquishment of this visionary scheme, restored and cemented by the marriage of Frederic, prince-royal of Denmark, with Louisa, youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty, which took place towards the conclusion of the present year. The king of Denmark survived this alliance, which was productive of general satisfaction to the inhabitants of both kingdoms, little more than two years. The princess Mary, third daughter to the king of England,

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BOOK XI. had, at a period somewhat anterior to the
1743. events now related, been married to Frederic, prince of Hesse Cassel, nephew to the king of Sweden, and presumptive heir to the Landgraviate.

At this time admiral Matthews commanded with high reputation the British naval force in the Mediterranean. The Corsicans having revolted from the dominion of Genoa, and elected a German adventurer as their sovereign, by the name of king Theodore, were supported and encouraged by this commander, in revenge for the partiality shown by the Genoese to the French and Spanish arms in Italy; though these brave islanders were, in the sequel, forgotten and abandoned to their fate. Stores having been landed at Civita Vecchia for the use of the Spanish army under the count de Gages, the British admiral declared it to be a violation of the neutrality professed by his holiness the pope, and threatened a bombardment of that city; but desisted in consequence of the interposition of his Sardinian majesty. The commerce of France and Spain was interrupted, many prizes made, their coasts kept in continual alarm, and the combined squadrons of the two powers were blocked up for several successive months in the harbour of Toulon. On the 9th of February 1744, they were at last perceived stand-

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Naval en-
gagement
with the
French and
Spaniards
off Toulon.

ing out of the road, to the number of four-and-thirty sail of the line. The British admiral immediately weighed, and an engagement ensued, which, notwithstanding the great superiority of the British fleet, proved extremely indecisive; and which was afterwards the subject of much and vehement debate and discussion. It is admitted that Matthews behaved with heroic gallantry; but he was very ill seconded by some of his officers, particularly by admiral Lestock, who, with his whole division, remained at a great distance astern. It is not pretended that this officer was really deficient in courage; but he had long been upon very ill terms with his commander, whom he affected to despise, and whose signals on the day of battle he affirmed to be unintelligible and inconsistent—sheltering himself behind those rigid rules of discipline, against which, in the crisis of danger, it is often the highest merit gloriously to offend. Admiral Matthews, on his arrival at Minorca, suspended Lestock for disobedience, and sent him as a prisoner to England, where he in return accused and recriminated upon his superior. These proceedings became the subject of parliamentary investigation; and a court-martial was appointed to try the delinquents. It appears that the object of de Court, the French commander, whose ships greatly out-

BOOK XI. sailed those of the British squadron, being to
1744. avoid an engagement, the English commander was compelled to commence the attack before the line was completely formed: and he directed his principal effort against the Spanish division, which, sailing in the rear of the French, and at some distance, he endeavoured to cut off—being himself, in the *Namur*, closely engaged with the Spanish admiral don Navarro, in the *Royal Philip*, an immense ship of one hundred and fourteen guns. Admiral Lestock was at this time five miles astern, suffering, by an obstinate adherence to the signal for the line of battle, then flying at the same time with the signal for a close engagement, the rearmost ships of the Spanish squadron to pass him: on which admiral Matthews, though bravely seconded by captain Cornwall, in the *Marlborough*, who gloriously fell in the action, and other ships of his own division, was obliged to relinquish his prey at a moment when he flattered himself that she could not have escaped him, being, as he affirms in his public letter, “within musket shot of the *Royal Philip*, then lying a mere wreck, when the sternmost ships of the enemy came up and tore him to pieces.” In the result, admiral Lestock, to the general surprise and indignation, was honorably acquitted, and admiral Matthews declared inca-

pable of serving for the future in his majesty's navy. The king himself, who was personally brave, and a lover of the brave, is said to have expressed in warm terms his disapprobation of this decision. And, when an elaborate technical vindication of the sentence of the court-martial was offered, he indignantly replied, "that he knew but little of naval phraseology; but this," said his majesty, "I know, that Matthews did fight, and that Lestock did not."

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In July, sir John Balchen, an officer of great merit, sailed from Spithead with a strong squadron, in quest of a French fleet expected to depart about this time from the harbour of Brest. In the bay of Biscay he encountered a violent storm, by which the fleet was entirely scattered, and the admiral's own ship, the *Victory*, a new and beautiful first-rate, with eleven hundred men on board, foundered at sea, near the rocks of Alderney; and the whole crew, with all the officers and their commander, most unfortunately perished.

Another revolution about this period (November 1744) took place in the British cabinet. Lord Carteret, now become earl of Granville, had insinuated himself so far into the good graces of his sovereign as to excite, in a very high degree, the apprehension and dislike of the duke of Newcastle and his brother, Mr.

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Lord Carteret's resignation.

Mr. Pelham first minister.

Pelham, who secretly intrigued with the popular leaders in parliament to effect the downfall of this ambitious and haughty minister, whose power they envied, and whose talents they feared. The earl, comprehending the nature and extent of the combination against him, and sensible of his own unpopularity, heightened by the ill success of the war, avoided the conflict by a voluntary resignation of his employments; in which he was followed by Mr. Sandys, created lord Sandys, and various others. Mr. Pelham, who on the death of lord Wilmington, had succeeded to the direction of the board of treasury, was now nominated chancellor of the exchequer, and may be considered from this period as first minister. The earl of Chesterfield was appointed to the government of Ireland, the duke of Bedford placed at the head of the admiralty, the lords Gower and Cobham reinstated in their former posts, and, after an interval of delay and reluctance on the part of the court, Mr. Pitt constituted paymaster of the forces, and sworn a member of the privy council. Several of the tories were admitted to offices in consequence of this coalition of parties; and sir John Hynde Cotton and sir John Phelips, those morose and turbulent patriots, were—for a time of short duration indeed, “a little month”—transformed

into courtiers and placemen. The parliament BOOK XI.
 met in December (1744), and it soon appeared 1744.
 that the result of the late changes was by no
 means unfavorable to the views of the court;
 for the same system was pursued with less
 difficulty and interruption: and the patriots
 still in opposition, wearied with long and use-
 less exertion, seemed at length to acquiesce in
 measures which the nation at large, now roused
 into passionate resentment against France,
 and admiration of the courage and fortitude of
 the queen of Hungary, began to regard with
 partiality and approbation. And the unre-
 mitted efforts of thirty years, efforts which had
 produced such signal displays of knowledge,
 virtue, and eloquence, ingloriously terminated
 in the ancient maxim—*Si populus vult decipi,*
decipiatur.—As the last struggle of expiring 1745.
 patriotism, however, the house was moved,
 January 1745, that an act made in the fourth
 year of Edward III., entitled “A parliament
 shall be holden once every year,” and also that
 an act made in the thirty-sixth year of the
 reign of king Edward III., entitled “A par-
 liament shall be holden once every year,” shall
 be read; and the acts being read accordingly,
 Mr. Carew* arose, and declared his determi-

Mr. Carew's
 motion for
 restoring
 annual par-
 liaments.

* This member, in a subsequent session of the present par-
 liament, moved an address to the king, that he would be

BOOK XI. nation to bring to a DECISIVE TEST the sincerity of those professions which the ministers of the crown recently appointed to their offices had, for so many successive years, accustomed themselves to repeat within the walls of that house; and, from the fate of the question he was about to propose, a judgement might be pleased to order a monument to be erected in Westminster abbey to the memory of the gallant captain Cornewall, who lost his life in the engagement off Toulon; which being unanimously carried, Velters Cornewall, brother to the deceased, rose "to express the pride and satisfaction he felt on this occasion; more particularly as the motion originated with one of the most able, upright, and disinterested patriots who had ever sat in that house." We may, therefore, fairly presume, that the speech of Mr. Carew does not contain words of empty sound, intended for the mere purpose of embarrassing the administration, but that it exhibits the real sentiments of his understanding, and the genuine feelings of his heart. And it may be remarked, that the value and utility of exertions of this nature are not to be estimated by the advantage they *immediately* produce. Mr. Carew and Mr. Sydenham yet speak in history; nor will it ultimately be found that such men speak in vain. In our own times the orations of Mr. Fox in support of his several motions for the repeal of the test and penal statutes, were negatived by great majorities; but are these generous efforts in the cause of truth and liberty therefore lost? No—doubtless they will produce their effect at the destined period on minds more susceptible of improvement, and less under the dominion of prejudice——

"When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,
Whose sons shall blush their fathers were his foes."

formed whether the present ministers themselves merited those severe appellations which they had so lavishly bestowed upon their predecessors. It was not enough, he said, for the satisfaction of the impartial and intelligent public, that the new ministers should give a simple assent to the motion he had in contemplation; for, if they had coalesced with persons whose influence was, upon trial, found sufficiently powerful to defeat all efforts of political reform, it was incumbent upon them immediately to relinquish those offices which they had so precipitately accepted without any stipulations in favor of the public, and unreservedly to declare against those with whom they had so rashly united. Among the topics most frequently insisted upon by the present ministers, when in opposition to the court, was the necessity of counteracting the baleful effects of ministerial corruption, which they then seemed to think, and he hoped they still thought, could by no means so effectually be done as by a restoration of the ancient constitution of parliament, agreeably to which, the house would perceive, by the acts now read, that parliaments were to be holden once every year. And as long prorogations and adjournments were not then introduced or thought of, the meaning of this famous law must be, that a

BOOK XI. parliament should be every year chosen as well
1745. as held. And this is a constitution not only sanctioned by ancient practice, but by the unalterable dictates of reason. In order that the representatives of a great nation may be perfectly acquainted with the state of its wishes, wants, and grievances, it is necessary that there should be an intimate and habitual communication between them and their constituents. But, when gentlemen are chosen for a term of years, they too frequently, on their election, appear at once to relinquish the character and feelings of delegates; they fix their abode in the metropolis, and visit their constituents only when it becomes necessary to solicit their votes at the eve of a new election. Nay, such was the degraded and corrupt state into which the national representation had fallen since the establishment of septennial parliaments, that there were gentlemen in that house who never saw the borough which sent them thither; who, perhaps, would be at a loss even to recollect its name; and who were obliged to have recourse to the Court Calendar to inform them of whom they were the representatives. It was the peculiar and proper province of the house of commons, he said, to convey to the sovereign the sentiments of the nation, both with respect to the measures he

adopts, and the ministers he employs. But could this duty be justly or faithfully executed, when there is no proper intercourse established between those who represent and those who are represented? The interests of the prince and of the people cannot really and truly differ; he can only be great in their greatness, and prosperous in their prosperity. But the general interest of the people, and the personal interest of the ministers, may very essentially differ; they may have no other ends in view than to impoverish and enslave the people, in order to enrich and aggrandise themselves: and, during a long term of delegation, how easy will it ever be for artful and designing men to misrepresent the sentiments of the people to the sovereign, and to pervert, by sinister and corrupt practices, the integrity of those persons whose duty it is, and who are expressly appointed, to guard the liberties and protect the rights of the community? Properly speaking, Mr. Carew said, the house of commons were no more than the attorneys of the people: and is it reasonable that any man should be entrusted with a power of attorney irrevocable for a long term of years? Shall a whole people do that which would be the height of foolishness in every individual? Who can depend upon the continuance of any man's

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integrity? But the septennial bill was passed for the purpose of compelling the people to give an irrevocable power of attorney for that term. The practice of long parliaments was first introduced in the reign of Richard II., when the interests of the country were sacrificed by wicked ministers, to gratify the violent passions of the monarch. But what was the result? The discontents and murmurs of the people, so carefully concealed from the knowledge of the king, at last produced an universal convulsion, which terminated in his ruin, and in the advancement of the duke of Lancaster to the throne, without any other title than that of having rescued the people from slavery. This was the fate of the prince who first introduced long parliaments; but so long as a corrupt majority may be more easily obtained in a long than a short parliament, so long will it be the interest of ministers to oppose any limitation of the duration of parliaments, though the interests both of the monarch and the people ever so manifestly require it. If septennial parliaments be continued in this country, the minister's letters of recommendation may, in time, be as implicitly obeyed in our counties, cities, and boroughs, as the king's *congé d'élire* is now in the chapters of our episcopal cathedrals. But will any one assert,

that we should then have the slightest pretence to the character of a free nation? No—we should be slaves; God knows to whom—not, it may be hoped, to a minister from HANOVER; though it is hard to say what a corrupt parliament may not attempt, or to what a corrupt nation may not submit. To prevent, however, as far as my exertions can contribute to the prevention of such a catastrophe, I shall conclude with moving for leave to bring in a bill to enforce the calling of a new parliament every year after the expiration of this present parliament.”

This motion was very ably seconded by Mr. Sydenham, in an interesting speech, of which the concise epitome only must suffice. This gentleman began by observing, “that he must take it for granted that every member of that house must be conscious of the necessity of adopting measures of some kind for preventing, or at least diminishing, the extent and effect of ministerial corruption. And, of all the measures that could be devised, none would be found so effectual as the restoration of annual parliaments. To the fatal introduction of long parliaments, and their concomitant evils, he ascribed, in a great measure, that remarkable change in the manners and morals of the people at large, which had of late years taken

BOOK XI. place in this country. Formerly, the higher
1745. classes among us were distinguished for generosity and hospitality, and those of inferior rank for honesty, frugality, and industry. But these virtues are in danger of being utterly extinguished by the prevalence of political corruption. No sooner did ministers begin to solicit the votes, instead of convincing the understandings, of the members of parliament—no sooner were rewards lavished on those who complied with those solicitations, than the public order was disturbed by violent competitions at elections. Voters began to claim a merit with those to whom they gave their vote: the regular channel through which honors and preferments flowed was perverted, and the interest of the country was sacrificed for the sake of promoting those who had the chief interests in elections. Even in our army and navy, of late years, this has appeared to be the best qualification for entitling a man to preferment. We must, therefore, demolish from the foundation this fabric of corruption; we must render it impossible for a minister to expect to gain a majority in parliament, or at elections, either by bribery, or by a partial distribution of places and preferments. I say, we must do this, if we intend to restore that spirit by which our ancestors preserved their liberties, and gained so

much glory to their country. And, for this BOOK XI.
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purpose, nothing can be so effectual as the restoration of annual parliaments. Then may we hope to see that simplicity, generosity, and hospitality of manners revived, which is now no more. For I hope it will not be called generosity to give a voter, by express bargain, five or ten guineas for his vote; or hospitality, to make a county or a borough drunk once in seven years, by way of preparation for an ensuing election. When a gentleman perceives that the favor of his countrymen must be purchased, not won, he contracts his domestic to provide for his election expenses; and, if he succeeds, he retires with his family to London, certain of his seat for seven years, and resolving so to regulate his conduct in parliament as may secure his future indemnification. This change of a country life into a town life has been attended with unspeakable inconveniences. A man of fortune who resides in London may, in operas, routs, assemblies, French wines, and Italian musicians, expend as much yearly as may suffice to maintain his rank in the most hospitable style of ancient liberality at his seat in the country. But will it be pretended that the money so expended is of equal advantage to the community? that the same charity is extended to the indigent, the same employ-

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ment to the industrious? Annual parliaments would undoubtedly produce a mighty alteration of national manners in this respect. They would make constant residence and a constant intercommunication of kind offices necessary; they would preserve the honesty of our people, by removing the means of temptation; for no candidate would then be at the expense of corrupting, especially as he could not expect to be repaid by being himself corrupted by the minister after he is chosen. Annual parliaments will demolish the market of corruption. Ministers will not corrupt when corruption can be of no avail; and though contests may occasionally take place, the magnitude of the object will not be such as to occasion either venality or violence. If, therefore, we cherish a laudable ambition to restore the practice of those virtues for which our ancestors were so conspicuous, and by which they handed down to us riches, renown, and liberty, we must restore the constitution of having parliaments not only annually held, but annually chosen. It was a regulation *restored* and established by one of the greatest and wisest princes that ever swayed the sceptre of this kingdom. The bill passed in the fourth year of the reign of this monarch (Edward III.) was indeed evaded by the *ingenuity* of the lawyers. The words of the act

were these — ‘ A parliament shall be holden BOOK XI.
once a-year and oftener if need be.’ The law-
yers maintained that the words ‘ if need be ’ 1745.
related to the first part of the law as well as
the second ; *i. e.* that a parliament shall be held
once a-year if need be, or oftener if need be ;
a construction which rendered the act itself
wholly nugatory. In the thirty-sixth year of
the reign of the same monarch, therefore, a
new law was passed, by which it was enacted,
without any reserve or limitation, ‘ that a par-
liament shall be holden every year.’ This set
the invention of the lawyers again at work,
in order to find a new evasion ; and, in the
next reign, the practice of prorogation was
introduced. Every session of parliament was
declared to be a parliament, and the liberties
of the nation were sacrificed by a parliament
corruptly chosen and illegally continued. Should
this now be attempted, it would be found very
difficult, if not impossible, to rescue them by
force of arms, as was done in the reign of Ri-
chard II. ; for the crown has now a regular dis-
ciplined army to support its encroachments,
and the people have neither arms nor discipline
to oppose to such a king and such a parliament.
This consideration alone would make me san-
guine in the support of the measure now pro-

BOOK XI. posed; and for this reason, among many others,
1745. I conclude with seconding the motion."

The speeches of these able and virtuous senators have been thus distinctly recited, because they discover just and noble sentiments of government, and disclose a glorious prospect of political reformation, which it is left to a happier and more enlightened age to realise*.

The motion was feebly opposed in a diffusive and labored speech by sir William Yonge, secretary at war, by arguments which, if they proved any thing, would prove that parliaments ought to be perpetual. But the principal ministers of the CROWN observed a profound silence, not being able to endure the *test* of this *experimentum crucis*. It is however extremely remarkable, that, on the division, the question was negatived by a majority of thirty-two voices only, in a house of two hundred and sixty-three members. No attempt at parliamentary reform, in any shape, after this, was made for thirteen years, when a motion for

* In the writings of SWIFT, a man naturally of a sound and excellent judgement, though unhappily too much under the dominion of violent and malignant passions, is somewhere to be found this remarkable acknowledgement: "I adore the wisdom of that Gothic constitution which made parliaments annual."

shortening the duration of parliaments was negatived almost without the formality of a debate. Very recently, indeed, the question has been revived with great lustre and advantage under the auspices of men of the highest talents, and bids fair to excite the serious and continued attention of the public, especially as it is at last combined, as it ever ought to have been, with the kindred question of an equalisation of the representation*. So long as this grand reform of parliament itself remains unaccomplished, no essential reform in other respects is to be expected.

Previous to the departure of the earl of Chesterfield for the government of Ireland, he was invested with the character of ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the States-General, in order to prevail upon their high mightinesses to take a more active and decisive part in that war which it could not fail to be remarked that his lordship had

Earl of
Chester-
field's able
conduct in
Holland &
Ireland.

* It will easily be supposed, that an allusion is here intended to the association lately instituted in the metropolis, for obtaining a reform in parliament; which, exclusive of the avowed approbation of the great rival statesmen, Mr. PITT and Mr. Fox, respecting its object, boasts the distinguished names of GREY, FRANCIS, LAMBTON, WHITBREAD, ERSKINE, SMITH, and many others, which would reflect honor on any cause; and this is certainly a cause which would reflect honor upon any names.

BOOK XI. repeatedly inveighed against in parliament as
1745. romantic, absurd, and contrary to the interests
of both countries. Nevertheless, as the nation
had determined upon war, his lordship might
deem it no violation of moral or political obli-
gation to exert his utmost efforts, as a public
man, to render it successful: and it is certain
that he never ceased to use his influence in the
cabinet to accomplish the restoration of peace;
and in consequence of his disappointment and
dissatisfaction in not being able to attain that
favorite object of his wishes, he resigned the
seals of secretary of state, which were con-
signed to him after his return from Ireland.
“Every thing,” says the earl, speaking confi-
dentially of the state of affairs at this period,
“which does not tend to a peace is absurd, and
will in the end prove fatal.” And is it but im-
partial justice to declare that no man enter-
tained more just or comprehensive ideas re-
specting the national interest and happiness
than this nobleman, and that few, if any, of his
contemporaries can be named, who pursued
them more resolutely and steadily. Incessantly
urged and incited by the whole power and in-
fluence of the Orange faction, the States at
length acceded to the substance of the ambas-
sador’s proposals, and engaged to maintain an
army of fifty thousand men in the field, exclu-

sive of garrisons. But, torn by intestine division and animosity, the terms of the treaty were, after the conclusion of it, little attended to; and, though the proportion of expense to be borne by Holland was mitigated from two-fifths to one-third, the danger to which the republic was exposed was neither sufficiently urgent nor obvious to excite a spirit of national ardor or unanimity*.

In the speech made by the ambassador in the assembly of the States, at his audience of leave, are to be found the following animated expressions: "The love of liberty, which first laid the foundation of this republic, and has since so often signalised her, this so noble and generous love still unites your strength and your councils to those of the king my master. Actuated by the same spirit, and pursuing the same end, the sole object of your endeavours is to restore and secure the public liberty and tranquillity. What design can be more laudable? what work more worthy of a just and

* When Metrodorus was sent by Mithridates to solicit the aid of the king of Armenia against the Romans, Tigranes said, "What would you, Metrodorus, advise me to do in this case?" To which Metrodorus replied, "As an ambassador I should exhort you to it; but, as your counsellor, I should advise you against it." Had lord Chesterfield been asked the same question, doubtless he must, if equally ingenuous, have returned a similar answer.

BOOK XI. magnanimous zeal? Pursue, high and mighty
1745. lords, that design with your wonted steadiness
and wisdom: continue those efforts without
suffering yourselves to be discouraged, and may
Heaven crown your undertakings with the suc-
cess they so well deserve!" Exclusive, however,
of the influence of French political intrigue, the
majority of considerate persons in the common-
wealth could not but regard the neutrality of-
fered by France as infinitely more eligible than
the war urged by England; nor could it be
reasonably doubted, if the restoration of the
peace of Europe were the real object in view,
that Holland, who could propose to herself no
prospect or possibility of advantage by the
continuance of hostilities, might act with much
greater effect and dignity as a mediator than
as a party.

On the return of the earl of Chesterfield from
this embassy, he repaired to his government;
and, during his continuance in that high office,
he executed the duties of it with a vigilance,
attention, and fidelity, which gave the most
perfect satisfaction to the Irish nation; and
have deservedly endeared his memory to that
generous and grateful people. The violent
measures which were proposed to him at the
breaking out of the rebellion, respecting the
Roman-catholics, he rejected with indignation.

On the contrary, he treated them with a mildness and moderation which engaged their affection and confidence. A profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom ; and it was observed, that the pastoral letters of the Irish priests, their public discourses, and more private admonitions, were equally and invariably directed for the service of the government. In his excellency's speech from the throne, at the opening of the session, October 1745, after expressing his ardent wishes to co-operate with parliament in whatever might tend to establish or promote the true interest of the kingdom, he tells them, " that their own reflexions will best suggest to them the advantages they have enjoyed under the just and legal authority of the present race of princes ; and their own history will best paint the miseries and calamities of a people scourged, rather than governed, by blind zeal and lawless power ; that these considerations must necessarily excite their highest indignation at the attempt now carrying on in Scotland, to disturb his majesty's government by a pretender to his crown—one nursed up in civil and religious error, formed to persecution and oppression in the seat of superstition and tyranny ; whose groundless claim is as contrary to the natural rights of mankind, as to the particular laws and constitutions of these kingdoms ;

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whose only hopes of support are placed in the enemies of the liberties of Europe in general, and whose success would consequently destroy our liberty, our property, and our religion." So well assured was this nobleman of the peaceable and loyal disposition of the nation at large, that he treated with pleasant ridicule the information brought to him by a gentleman high in office, who, with marks of evident consternation, told his excellency that the people in Connaught were certainly *rising*. The earl, with perfect calmness and composure, replied, "It is now nine o'clock, and time for them to rise; I therefore incline to believe your intelligence true."

This year, March 1745, died Robert earl of Orford, in circumstances by no means affluent, although he had for twenty years the revenues of Great Britain at his disposal. His death was occasioned by the violent operation of a medicine which he took as a solvent for the stone; and he declared that he died a victim to the neglect of his own maxim—not to disturb that which is at rest.

The naval operations of this summer were spirited and successful. A great number of rich prizes were captured from the enemy both in the East and West Indies. But the achievement by which it was chiefly distinguished was the

conquest of the island of Cape Breton, in North America. This enterprise originated with the inhabitants of the province of New England; and the plan proposed by them being approved by the government, admiral Warren, now commanding the British fleet in those seas, was commanded to co-operate with them. Six thousand colonial troops were embarked from Boston, which, with eight hundred marines from on board the fleet, constituted the whole of the land force. But with such courage and vigor did these raw and undisciplined troops, under the conduct of the British engineers, carry on their approaches, and with such skill and judgement were their operations seconded by the admiral, that, in about eight weeks after the commencement of the siege, the fortress and city of Louisburg, and the whole island of Cape Breton, surrendered to the arms of his Britannic majesty. The Americans, who were freed by this conquest from a dangerous neighbour, acquired great and deserved applause on the occasion. The rising importance of the colonies became the subject of public attention and acknowledgement; and, by a generous excess of partiality, the magnitude of their services, and the beneficial consequences of this new conquest, were extolled and appreciated some-

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1745.

Conquest of
Cape Bre-
ton.

BOOK XI. what, perhaps, beyond their real and intrinsic
 1746. value.

Convulsion
in the mini-
stry.

Lord Gran-
ville rein-
stated, and
almost im-
mediately
resigns.

At the meeting of parliament, January 1746, the king declared his regret at being obliged to have recourse to his people for further aids; and, at the same time, his confidence in their zeal and unanimity in support of the public credit and safety. A new convulsion in the ministry, however, retarded the progress of the supplies. A recent effort to introduce once more the earl of Granville into the administration, had been made by the sovereign, over whom that nobleman had acquired a surprising ascendancy: but the duke of Newcastle, and all who adhered to the widely-extended connexions of the Pelhams, immediately on being acquainted with the king's determination, delivered in their resignations. Lord Granville was, notwithstanding, actually appointed to the office of principal secretary of state; but, relying on the greatness of his talents, he had ever disdained to court the support and assistance of friends; and, after a very short trial, he was compelled reluctantly once more to render back the seals. The Pelhams again resumed their stations; and lord Granville, relinquishing for ever the contest for superiority, was, after an interval of political obscurity, made

president of the council, which station he occupied many years, rather dignifying the office than dignified by it*. The supplies were now granted by the commons with more than ordinary profusion. About one hundred and twenty thousand men, land forces, seamen, and marines, were provided for by parliament. The sum of three hundred thousand pounds was voted to the king of Sardinia; and four hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, although that princess had now fully surmounted her political embarrassments. Subsidies also were granted with an unsparing hand to the Dutch, the Hessians, the Saxons, the Hanoverians, the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and the whole was crowned with a vote of credit and confidence for the sum of five

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* February 10, 1746, the duke of Newcastle and lord Harrington resigned the seals, and the earl of Granville was appointed principal secretary. The next day, Mr. Pelham resigned the treasury, the earl of Pembroke his gold key, and Mr. Legge and Mr. George Grenville their seats at the board of admiralty. The lord chancellor, the duke of Bedford first lord of the admiralty, the earl of Chesterfield lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and almost all the other great officers of state, were expected to follow; when on Friday, February 14, the earl of Granville returned the seals into his majesty's hands, which were immediately re-delivered to the duke of Newcastle.

BOOK XI. hundred thousand pounds to his majesty*.

1746.

Unsuccess-
ful attempt
on Port
L'Orient.

Notwithstanding this unheard-of prodigality of expenditure, no sensible effect was produced in the general system of affairs.—An unsuccessful attempt was made in the course of this year, by admiral Lestock and general St. Clair, on Port L'Orient, an opulent maritime town on the

* It was boldly and shrewdly remarked by a political writer of these times, that, according to the historian Matthew Paris, when king Henry III. demanded money of his parliament to defray the expense of a foreign expedition, which concerned not the interest of England, the parliament told him flatly, that this was a most audacious requisition: “*Talia effrons impudenter postularet.—Contradixerunt regi in faciem, nolentes amplius pecunia sua spoliari.*” And upon his remonstrating, that his royal faith was pledged, and pleading the absolute necessity in which he stood of a supply, they expressed their astonishment that the immense sums of money already granted could be so soon dissipated: “*Admiramur in quam abyssum submersæ sunt innumerabiles pecuniæ quas, domine rex, immulxisti, quæ nunquam regno vel modicum contulerunt incrementum.*” — Matt. Paris, p. 561, 26 Henry III.

It is said that Mr. Mitchel, the English resident at Berlin during the second Silesian war, in communicating to the king of Prussia the intelligence of some advantage obtained over the enemy, made use of the following expression—“By the help of God we have gained a victory over the French.”—“What,” said the king, “is God one of your allies?”—“Yes certainly, sire,” replied the ambassador, “and the only one who demands no subsidies of us.”

southern coast of Bretagne, and the grand depository of the vessels and stores belonging to the French East India company. The fleet, with six battalions of regular forces on board, arrived, on the twentieth of September, in Quimperly Bay, ten miles distant from the city, which was immediately summoned to surrender. In the first emotions of surprise and consternation, a capitulation was agreed to, on condition that the magazines of the company, upon the payment of forty thousand pounds by way of ransom, should remain untouched, and the inhabitants be protected from pillage. These terms the British commanders, instigated by the predominating avidity of plunder, haughtily and rashly rejected; and the inhabitants, driven to extremity, prepared to defend themselves with resolution. The invaders were utterly destitute of the artillery and implements necessary for a siege. A single battery, raised with difficulty and mounted only with a few field-pieces, played upon the fortifications without any effect. At length the troops stationed in the environs, with the militia of the province, collecting in great force, the general was compelled to abandon his enterprise, embarking his troops September 29; and, after some useless bravadoes on the French coast, the whole armament returned to Portsmouth.

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The French accounts assert, that the place, if attacked immediately on the landing of the troops, might have been easily taken by scalade; but the operations of the English general indicated as little of vigor as of judgement; and the admiral did nothing to retrieve the reputation, which, notwithstanding the acquittal of the court-martial, he had, by his conduct at Toulon, lost in the estimation of the public. In the month of September, the important settlement of Madras, on the coast of Coromandel, surrendered to the French arms in India; which disaster the English, in the course of the next year, attempted in vain to avenge by the unsuccessful siege of Pondicherry.

Supplies lavishly voted by parliament.

In November 1746, the parliament was again convened, and the supplies again voted with the same lavish profusion—four hundred and thirty thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary; three hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia; five hundred and seventy thousand pounds for the maintenance of the Hanoverian and Hessian auxiliaries; subsidies to the electors of Saxony, Mentz, Cologne, and Bavaria; five hundred thousand pounds as a vote of credit; and it was remarked, that the entire aggregate of the supplies exceeded by two million and a half the greatest annual sum raised during the reign of queen Anne, when

Great Britain filled the world with the renown of her victories, though her riches were now exhausted to purchase only disgrace and misfortune. It must be acknowledged indeed, that at this period the king exhibited a laudable proof of his desire to diminish the public expense, by ordering the third and fourth troops of his life-guards to be disbanded, and reducing three regiments of horse to the quality of dragoons. But these reductions were at the same time invidious and ineffectual, and the dignity of the nation seemed even in some sort affected by them. That the monarch was well satisfied with the rectitude of his own policy, and even willing to make considerable personal sacrifices, in order to fix that ideal balance of power which he deemed so necessary to the happiness and tranquillity of Europe, it would seem ungenerous to doubt. Happy ! had the wisdom of his measures borne any proportion to the integrity of his intentions.

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1746.

Personal sacrifices of the king.

An act of parliament of a very important nature passed this session, for the abolition of the heretable jurisdictions in Scotland—that distinguishing feature of the feudal system; since which period the peculiarities which seemed to stamp upon the Highland clans the cast and character of a separate nation have

Act for abolishing the heretable jurisdictions in Scotland.

BOOK XI. been gradually softening, and, at this time,
 1746. seem rapidly hastening to their final and utter extinction.

Death of
Philip V.
king of
Spain.

This year died Philip V. king of Spain, to whom succeeded, without any visible or immediate effect upon the general political system, don Ferdinand, prince of Asturias.

1747.
Naval vic-
tories of ad-
mirals An-
son, War-
ren, and
Hawke.

In April 1747, a squadron sailed from Brest Water, commanded by M. de la Jonquiere, bound for America, and had made little progress in their voyage when they were encountered by a superior English fleet under the admirals Anson and Warren. The enemy fought with courage, but were compelled to yield to superior force, and towards evening six ships of the line struck their colors; and a great part of their convoy, with several frigates, were also taken. For this service admiral Anson was ennobled, and admiral Warren created a knight of the bath. In the month of October, admiral Hawke, with a force much superior, fell in with a fleet of nine line-of-battle ships, seven of which, after an obstinate engagement, were captured by the English. The nation failed not to remark, that, in both these instances, the English fleets bore down upon the enemy, regardless of the preservation of the line of battle; while the brave admiral Matthews still continued in a state of disgraceful suspension for the same

contempt of the established punctilios of discipline.

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The parliament having been dissolved in June, a new parliament was convened in November 1747, highly favorable to the interest of the present ministry. The minds of all were visibly animated by the late naval successes; the ablest men in parliament were engaged in the different posts and offices of government; the minister, Mr. Pelham, had acquired much of the public confidence; and the popularity of the king himself had very sensibly increased since the suppression of the late rebellion. He declared, that the attachment of his people on that occasion had impressed his heart with indelible sensations of gratitude, and that he felicitated himself upon an event, without which he had never known how much he was the object of their regard and affection. Opposition now seemed to languish, and, for the first time since the accession of the house of Hanover, England might be said to be governed by a popular administration*. The king signified, in

New parliament.

Popularity of the ministry.

* About this time a very excellent performance, deservedly honored with a large share of the public approbation, appeared under the title of "Free and Candid Disquisitions" respecting the necessity of a reform in the national church. The celebrated Warburton, in a letter to his friend Dr. Dodridge, a dissenting teacher of great eminence, writes—"As

BOOK XI. his speech to the parliament, that a congress
1747. would be speedily opened at Aix-la-Chapelle, for concerting the means of a general pacification. As the event, however, was uncertain, the former supplies and subsidies were renewed, and a new demand made for an additional subsidy to the empress of Russia, whom England had, by this means, the honor to class with the empress-queen of Hungary, the kings of Denmark, Sweden, Poland, and Sardinia, and a mul-

to the ‘Disquisitions,’ I will only say, that the temper, candor, and charity, with which they are wrote, are very edifying and exemplary. I wish success to them as much as you can do. But I can tell you, of certain science, that not the least alteration will be made in the ecclesiastical system.” Dr. Chandler, another non-conformist divine of distinguished reputation and ability, making an occasional visit at this period to Dr. Gooch, bishop of Norwich, met with Dr. Sherlock, then bishop of Salisbury. The discourse happened to fall on the propriety and utility of a *comprehension*. Dr. Sherlock said, “Our church, Mr. Chandler, consists of three parts; doctrine, discipline, and ceremonies. As to ceremonies, they are in themselves indifferent, and ought to be left so; and the discipline of our church is * * * *; but what have you to object to the doctrines of it?” Mr. Chandler replied, “Your Articles, my lord, must be expressed in Scriptural words, and the Athanasian Creed must be discarded.” Both the bishops answered—they wished they were rid of that creed, and had no objection to altering the Articles into Scriptural words. The two bishops, at the conclusion of the visit, requested Mr. Chandler to wait on the archbishop, Dr. Herring; which he did, and met the bishop of Norwich. The archbishop being

titute of Germanic sovereigns, in her imperial, BOOK XI.
 royal, and princely band of mercenaries. But, 1748.
 previous to the termination of the session, in Peace signed at Aix-la-Chapelle.
 May 1748, the king informed the two houses
 that preliminaries of peace were actually signed,
 and that the basis of the accommodation
 was a general restitution of conquests.

If we take into consideration the relative situation of the belligerent powers, the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle must undoubtedly, upon the whole, be considered as very favorable and ad-

informed by Dr. Gooch of the conversation that had taken place on the subject of a comprehension, replied, "A very good thing—he wished it with all his heart; and the rather, because this was a time which called upon all good men to unite against infidelity and immorality, which threatened universal ruin: and added, he was encouraged to hope, from the piety, learning, and moderation, of many dissenters, that this was the proper time to make the attempt." "But," said Dr. Gooch, "Mr. Chandler says the Articles must be altered into the words of Scripture." "And why not?" rejoined the archbishop. "It is the impertinencies of men thrusting their own words into Articles, instead of the words of God, which have occasioned most of the divisions in the Christian church from the beginning to this day." The archbishop added, that the bench of bishops seemed to be of his mind, and that he should be glad to see Mr. Chandler again, but was then *obliged to go to court.* The good archbishop, it may be presumed, according to the prediction of Dr. Warburton, met with little encouragement at court to persevere in his benevolent design; for, during the remainder of this reign, we hear no more of ecclesiastical *reform or comprehension.*

BOOK XI. 1748. vantageous to the allies. The king of France was now in actual possession of almost the whole of the Austrian Netherlands, and had even penetrated into Dutch Brabant and Flanders. Except the fortune of the war had, contrary to all reasonable expectation, entirely changed, the allies must soon have been driven beyond the Rhine, and the United States might have once more seen the *oriflamme* of France displayed at the gates of Amsterdam. The history of Europe in modern times exhibits, perhaps, no instance of a disparity of talents between opposing commanders so great and manifest, as that which subsisted between the duke of Cumberland and the mareschal Saxe. Yet it is very remarkable, that the States-General seemed to think it unnecessary to impose those restraints upon his royal highness by which, in consequence of the *tribunitian negative* vested in the field deputies, the duke of Marlborough had been formerly fettered. A vast army was assembled in the Netherlands at a ruinous expense to England, without the slightest necessity, as it was not pretended that the French had threatened the Dutch barrier—and which, when assembled, acted merely upon the defensive—which attempted no siege—which relieved no fortress—and which gained no battle. And the nation had reason to recollect the

coarse but sagacious political adage of Hyde, BOOK XI.
earl of Rochester, "that to attack France in 1748.
Flanders was to take a bull by the horns." For
the sacrifice of all her conquests no other com-
pensation was required by France than the ces-
sion of the duchy of Parma, with its appen-
dages, to the infant don Philip, and of which
territories that prince was already in actual pos-
session. Thus, in the space of little more than
ten years, the house of Austria was deprived of
the Sicilies and Parma by Spain, of the rich and
extensive province of Silesia by Prussia, and of
Servia and Belgrade, the bulwark of her em-
pire on the side of Hungary, by the Turks;
yet, by the wise and excellent administration
of the empress-queen, whose councils were,
from this period, chiefly directed by that great
statesman who, to a very recent period, pre-
sided at the helm of affairs in the imperial
court*, Austria appeared, in a short time,
more potent and formidable than it had ever
done under the imperious but feeble govern-
ment of her father, the emperor Charles VI.
By this treaty England was compelled reluc-
tantly to resign her favorite conquest of Cape
Breton, in order to obtain the restitution of
Madras. With Spain, England had little occa-

* The count, afterwards created prince, de Kaunitz.

BOOK XI.

1748.

sion to negotiate. In the whole course of a war which had continued nine years, nothing had been lost, and nothing gained, Porto Bello excepted, which had been immediately evacuated. The original cause of the war seemed, in the progress of it, to be entirely forgotten; and, at the conclusion of the peace, not a syllable was mentioned respecting the pretended *right of search*, which had formerly occasioned such loud and indignant clamors. As the same complaints have never been revived, it appears, however, that Spain has virtually, though silently, relinquished her claims. The settlement of the boundaries of the French and British empires in America, a question in the highest degree doubtful and disputatious, was referred to the decision of commissaries; and France retained no mark of superiority in this treaty, with relation to England, excepting the requisition of hostages to reside in France till the reciprocal restitution of conquests should be actually made; and the earls of Sussex and Cathcart were nominated for that purpose. This afforded the patriots a pretence to exclaim against the peace as disgraceful to the nation. But the nation, who were with reason wearied with the expenses and disasters of the war, were well satisfied with the terms of the peace,

and it was celebrated with great and universal rejoicings.

BOOK XL

1749.

State of domestic politics.

The opposition in parliament, nevertheless, still retained some degree of importance, from the countenance and patronage of the prince of Wales, who, from recent causes, had become more than ever alienated from the court. And at this period his royal highness distinguished by peculiar marks of his favor and confidence the famous viscount Bolingbroke, who having many years since received a full pardon from government, without however being restored to his seat in parliament, now resided at the rustic mansion of Dawley, in Middlesex; and was visited in this beautiful and sequestered retreat, to make use of the expression of a contemporary historian, "as a sainted shrine, by all the distinguished votaries of wit, eloquence, and political ambition." Matured and mellowed by experience, reflexion, and age, this all-accomplished nobleman, "framed in the prodigality of nature," and no less conspicuous in the lofty fanes of science, than the rosy bowers of pleasure, or the gorgeous palaces of ambition, shone forth in the evening of life with a mild and subdued, but rich and resplendent lustre. And in his political writings he exhibited to an admiring world that *idea* of a *patriot king* which the heir of the British monarchy was supposed

Character of lord Bolingbroke.

BOOK XI. ambitious to form himself upon, as a complete
 1749. and perfect model *.

* It will be, perhaps, not unacceptable to select a few extracts from this celebrated performance, in composing which lord Bolingbroke seems to have determined to lay aside all prejudice and party attachment, and to pourtray the lineaments of Truth, as she appeared to his imagination, in her own heavenly and radiant form; and which derives an high additional value from its proceeding from a writer who possessed an intimate practical knowledge of his subject, and who has, therefore, steered perfectly clear of those visionary ideas of government which have unhappily blended themselves with the theories of many philosophical statistes. "In all cases of great concernment," the noble writer tells us, that "the shortest and surest method of arriving at real knowledge is to remount to first principles; for it is about them that almost all the juggling and legerdemain employed by men, whose trade it is to deceive, are set to work. And he who does so on the subject of government, will discover soon that the notions concerning the divine institution and right of kings, as well as the absolute power belonging to their office, have no foundation in fact or reason; but have risen from an *old alliance* between ecclesiastical and civil policy. Reverence for government obliges us to reverence governors, who, for the sake of it, are raised above the level of other men. But reverence for governors independently of government, any further than reverence would be due to their virtues if they were private men, is preposterous and repugnant to common sense. As well might we say, that a ship is built, and loaded, and manned, for the sake of any particular pilot, instead of acknowledging that the pilot is made for the sake of the ship, her lading, and her crew, who are always the OWNERS in the *political vessel*, as to say that kingdoms were instituted for kings, not kings for kingdoms. All this is

The hopes of the nation were, however, fatally blasted by the unfortunate and untimely BOOK XI.
1749.

as true of hereditary as of elective monarchy; though the scribblers for tyranny, under the name of monarchy, would have us believe that there is something more august and more sacred in the one than the other. They are sacred alike, and this attribute is to be ascribed, or not ascribed, to them, as they answer, or do not answer, the ends of their institution.—Enough has been said to establish the first and true principles of monarchical, and indeed of every other kind of government; and I will say with confidence, that no principles but these, and such as these, can be advanced, which deserve to be treated seriously; though Mr. Locke *con- descended* to examine those of Filmer, more out of regard to the prejudices of the time than the importance of the work. The good of the people is the ultimate and true end of government; governors are therefore appointed for this end; and the civil constitution which appoints them and invests them with their power, is determined to do so, by that law of nature and reason which has determined the end of government, and which admits this *form* of government as the proper means of arriving at it. Now, the greatest good of a people is their liberty; without liberty no happiness can be enjoyed by society. The obligation, therefore, to defend and maintain the freedom of such constitutions, will appear most sacred to a *patriot king*. The constitution will be considered by him as one law, consisting of two tables—or as one system composed of different parts and powers, but all duly proportioned to one another, and conspiring, by their harmony, to the perfection of the whole. He will make one, and but one, distinction between his rights and those of his people,—he will look on his to be a trust, and theirs a property; he will discern that he can have a right to no more than is entrusted to him by the constitution; and that the people alone, who

BOOK XI. death of the prince, who, after a short illness,
 1749. expired, March 20, 1751, leaving the education
 Death of the prince of Wales. of his numerous offspring to the care of a princess, amiable indeed for her maternal and domestic virtues, but who had brought from the court of Saxe-Gotha principles and maxims of government ill according with those which form the basis of the English constitution.

Soon after the death of his royal highness, his eldest son, prince George, was committed to the care of the earl of Harcourt as governor, and the bishop of Norwich as preceptor—men whose principles and characters deservedly stood high in the esteem of the nation. But it

had an original right to the whole by the law of nature, can have the sole indefeasible right to any part, and really have such a right to that part which they have reserved to themselves. Thus he will think, and on these principles he will act, whether he come to the throne by immediate or remote election. For in hereditary monarchies, where *men* are not elected, *families* are: and therefore *some authors* would have it believed, that, when a family has been once admitted, and an hereditary right to the crown recognised in it, that right cannot be forfeited. How much more agreeable to truth and to common sense would these authors have written, if they had maintained that every prince who comes to a crown in the course of succession, were he the last of five hundred, comes to it under the same conditions under which the first took it, whether expressed or implied! I mention this the rather because I have an imperfect *remembrance* that some SCRIBBLER was employed, or employed himself, to assert the

was soon discovered that the earl of Bute, who BOOK XI.
 had been introduced into the prince's house- 1749.
 hold as a lord of the bedchamber, had acquired
 so high a degree of influence at the court of Ascenden-
cy of lord
Bute at the
court of
Leicester
house.
 Leicester house, as to make the situation of
 those who possessed responsible offices very
 uneasy. It was confidently asserted, that books
 had been repeatedly found in the hands of the
 prince of a most dangerous political tendency.
 On a remarkable motion made in the house of
 peers, March 1753, by the duke of Bedford, for
 the production of certain papers and documents
 relative to this subject, lord Harcourt declared
 that he found he had no authority over the

hereditary right of the present family; a task so unnecessary
 to any good purpose, that I believe a suspicion arose of its
 having been designed for a bad one. A PATRIOT KING will
 never countenance such impertinent fallacies, nor deign to
 lean on broken reeds."—Was this *recollection* in lord Boling-
 broke, or *prophetic anticipation*? Or is it necessary to say,
 that whoever defends the absurd and pernicious tenets here
 reprobated is a SCRIBBLER, however *sublime and beautiful* his
 language? A nobleman yet living, who was in habits of
 strict intimacy with lord Bolingbroke, relates of him, that he
 was accustomed to express, in high and enthusiastic language,
 his admiration of the genius and talents of ALCIBIADES, not
 unconscious, perhaps, that to the character of this celebrated
 Athenian his own bore a striking analogy. And lord Orrery
 assures us, that the conversation of lord Bolingbroke united
 the wisdom of Socrates, the dignity and ease of Pliny, and the
 wit of Horace.

BOOK XI. prince's education, nor could he be of any service unless the sub-governor and others were dismissed, whom he had strong reasons to believe tainted with jacobite principles. Impressed with this idea, his lordship and his coadjutor, the bishop, resigned their offices, and to them lord Waldegrave and the bishop of Lincoln succeeded. But the baleful influence of the earl of Bute was too plainly discerned to be still all-prevalent, affording, notwithstanding the private and personal virtues of the prince, just and serious ground of national solicitude and apprehension *.

* In the Diary of lord Melcombe, which exhibits an amusing picture of the interior of a court, delineated by a vain, obsequious, temporising courtier, are contained many characteristic and interesting anecdotes. With respect to this memorable resignation, his lordship informs us, that lord Harcourt complained strongly to the king of dangerous notions and arbitrary principles being instilled into the prince; and that he could be of no use unless Stone, Cresset, and Scot, were dismissed: that, as he named no particulars, the king had sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the lord-chancellor to confer with his lordship upon the subject; but lord Harcourt declared, that the particulars were fit only to be communicated to the king, and that he would wait on his majesty with them: that he did so, and the satisfaction he required not being given, the king appearing to yield a slow and reluctant credit to these allegations, the earl and bishop immediately resigned their offices. It is a curious circumstance, that, in a conversation which lord Melcombe held

Next to the minister himself, two of the most distinguished personages at this period in the British parliament were Mr. Murray, solicitor-general, and Mr. Pitt, paymaster of the forces—both indeed possessing an extent of genius and splendor of eloquence superior to Mr. Pelham, who, founding his power on the firm and solid foundation of public esteem and public virtue, suffered no mean or corroding political jealousies to enter his breast. The first of these, promoted, in the progress of his fortunes, to the chief justiceship of England, and the title of earl of Mansfield, was educated in sentiments by no means favorable to his political advancement; but, from his first entrance into public life, he suffered no symptoms of his original attachments to appear, excepting a certain bias always discernible, throughout all the variations and vicissitudes of his political career, in favor of prerogative. His person was graceful, the

BOOK XI.

1749.

Character
of lord
Mansfield.

with the duke of Dorset on the subject of these resignations, it was agreed—"that there must be a *counter-story* on the court side, or the resigners would run away with the public opinion." It is superfluous to say, that this *counter-story* never appeared. The original appointment of Stone, who was the intimate friend of Murray, the solicitor-general, was extremely disagreeable to the late prince of Wales, who was accustomed, as the princess related to lord Melcombe, when affairs went ill, passionately to exclaim—"How could better be expected when such a jacobite as Stone was trusted!"

BOOK XI. tones of his voice exquisitely melodious, and
 1749. his style of oratory clear, dignified, calm, and
 persuasive*.

Character
 of Mr. Pitt.

To this historical portrait that of Mr. Pitt may be exhibited as a just and striking contrast. This celebrated statesman was introduced early in life into the house of commons, where he soon distinguished himself by the animation of his eloquence and the superiority of his talents. His reply to the political veteran Horace Walpole, who had on some occasion affected to mention him with contempt, as an unpractised and youthful orator, is not yet forgotten: "Whether youth could be justly imputed to any man as a reproach, Mr. Pitt said he should not determine; but he would affirm, that the wretch who, after having seen the consequences of repeated errors, continues still to blunder, and whose age has only added obstinacy to stupidity, deserves not that his grey hairs should secure him from insult; and much more is he to be abhorred who, as he has advanced in age, has receded from virtue, and

* The æra so feelingly anticipated by the poet is, almost in the moment of writing, at length arrived. This nobleman's career of life and honor is closed—

And MURRAY, long enough his country's pride,
 Is now no more than TULLY or than HYDE.

who deliberately devotes the remnant of his life to the ruin of his country." As a public speaker, he possessed such commanding force and energy of language, as struck his hearers with astonishment and admiration. The power and effect of his oratory have been compared to "the lightning which flashed from heaven, blasting where it smote, and withering the nerves of opposition." His ambition was open and undisguised; but he disdained to seek the gratification of it by any mean or degrading compliance. On the contrary, he was pertinacious in his opinions, imperious in his deportment, fearless and resolute in his conduct. All attention to pecuniary considerations he seemed to think beneath the dignity of his character, ever maintaining an inviolable integrity in the midst of temptation*. And in that theatre of

* Two signal proofs of the disinterested integrity of Mr. Pitt in the discharge of his office, are distinctly specified. On his accession to the post of paymaster, he refused the customary perquisites of half per cent. on the subsidies voted by parliament to the queen of Hungary, the king of Sardinia, &c., amounting to an immense sum. The king of Sardinia, struck with admiration at this conduct, ordered his ambassador to offer the same sum as a royal present to Mr. Pitt; but this Mr. Pitt peremptorily, though respectfully, refused, saying, that he did no more than his duty in paying it entire. The other fact, equally to the honor of this great man, is, that he would never appropriate any of the balances of the

BOOK XI. political corruption in which it was the shame-
1749. less boast of the minister that *every man had his price*, the public virtue of Mr. Pitt was universally acknowledged to be “pure as the icicle pendent from Dian’s temple.”

Character
of Mr. Fox.

In the foremost rank of statesmen at this period, likewise, must be classed the secretary at war, Mr. Fox, afterwards advanced to the peerage by the title of lord Holland. His talents appear, indeed, less brilliant than solid. Long and intimately attached to the connexion of the Pelhams, he had on all occasions distinguished himself as a most able advocate of the measures of the present administration. In common with the other adherents of that powerful party, he espoused with zeal the ancient principles of whiggism established at the revolution—blended as they were with the courtly bias in favor of the new system of policy introduced at the accession of the present family. His understanding was vigorous, and his knowledge extensive; and he commanded the attention of the house not by the splendor of his eloquence, but the superior weight and force of his observations. Though far from harbouring public money in his hands to any purposes of private emolument, paying them invariably into the bank of England, and satisfying himself with the common legal appointments annexed to his office.

ing the idea of a political competition with Mr. Pelham, whom he supported with the cordiality rather of friendship than of interest, he regarded himself, and was universally regarded, as second only in political importance to the minister: nor, in case of a vacancy in the highest department of government, did there appear any probability of a contest for the pre-eminence—Mr. Pitt at this period, not to mention his inferior standing in office, boasting little advantage over Mr. Fox in the estimation of the public, and possessing much less of the confidence of the court.

The most considerable controversy which took place in the house of commons, during the session immediately succeeding the conclusion of the peace, was occasioned by some important innovations in the annual mutiny bill, particularly the final clause, by which martial law was extended to all officers on half pay, and which, by extending in the same proportion the influence of the crown, might in its consequences, as the opposition affirmed, prove very dangerous to the constitution. But Mr. Pitt defended the clause, which was ultimately carried by a considerable majority, as a necessary extension of military discipline—urging, in order to obviate the alarm of danger, “that the very existence of English liberty must, and did,

BOOK XI.

1749.

Innovations
in the mu-
tiny bill.

BOOK XI. actually depend upon the moderation of the
 1749. sovereign, and the virtue of the army."—"To that virtue," said he, "we trust even at this hour, small as our army is—to that virtue we must have trusted in whatever manner this bill had been modelled; and without this virtue, should the lords, the commons, and the people of England, entrench themselves behind parchment up to the teeth, the sword will find a passage to the vitals of the constitution." Certainly a more forcible argument could not be found to demonstrate the necessity of reducing that army, and of diminishing that influence, which the clause in question was calculated to confirm and increase.

Town of
 Halifax in
 Nova Scotia
 founded.

At this period, a plan was formed and carried into execution, chiefly under the patronage and direction of the earl of Halifax, first lord of trade and plantations, for the establishment of a colony on the peninsula of Acadie. By the treaty of Utrecht this peninsula, originally settled by the French, was ceded, with the entire province of Nova Scotia, to the English. But, the small town and fortress of Annapolis, situated in the midst of the French settlers, excepted, no trace appeared of its being an English possession. By the plan now adopted, it was determined to found a city on the opposite or eastern side of the peninsula, to which the

name of Halifax was given, on a spot commodiously situated, and with the advantage of a secure and excellent harbour. This colony, though viewed by the French with jealous eyes, being primarily designed for a military station, and subjected, by an unpardonable error in the original plan, to a military and despotic form of government, did not answer the high expectations excited by it: but of late years, in consequence of many judicious regulations and unexpected changes, it has risen rapidly in commercial and political importance.

BOOK XI.
1749.

From the firm establishment of peace, the extension of commerce, and the accumulation of wealth, the public funds, all or the far greater part of which bore the same interest of *four per cent.*, now rose so much above par, as to make it practicable for the minister to bring forward a grand measure of finance, which, however daring in appearance, was attended with no difficulty in the execution. This was no other than an improvement of the scheme formerly offered to parliament by sir John Bernard, to liquidate all the redeemable annuities, comprehending almost the whole of the public debts, by an immediate payment of the principal. This proposal was, however, attended with an alternative which the minister well knew it was the interest of the stockholder to

1750.

Interest on
the public
funds re-
duced.

BOOK XI. accept. An option was allowed by the act,
1750. either to receive the entire amount of the debt at *par*, *i. e.* at a discount of more than thirty *per cent.* below the actual transfer price, or to consent to a reduction of the interest from four to three and a half *per cent.* for seven years, and afterwards to remain at three *per cent.* This had all the effect and operation of a tax of twenty-five *per cent.* upon the public funds, and it was a blow most severely felt by very many families in the middle classes of life, whose property was confided to the faith of government. Yet no violation of the public faith could be pretended; for, in conformity to the original terms of the agreement, the perpetual annuities were at all times redeemable by the government at *par*. A very great proportion, therefore, of the public creditors assented, however reluctantly, to the terms of the minister. The three great chartered companies, nevertheless, and various individual proprietors of stock to the amount of eight or ten millions, refused to subscribe. But Mr. Pelham, encouraged by the general success of his project, now assumed a higher tone; and declared, that, as they had suffered the time prescribed by the act to elapse, they should no longer be admitted to take advantage of the terms originally offered. But, that their obstinacy and ignorance might

not be too rigorously punished, he would now BOOK XI.
1750.
propose a second subscription, in which the reduction of the interest from three and a half to three *per cent.* should take place at the end of five years. Upon reconsideration, the Bank, the East India company, and South Sea company, and the individual proprietors who had concurred with them, and were probably influenced by their authority to reject with disdain the former proposition, unanimously thought proper to accept of the favor and indulgence now offered; and the plan of the minister was carried into complete execution, not only with reputation but triumph. But it is remarkable, that no effort was at any time made by Mr. Pelham for the re-establishment of the sinking fund, as originally proposed by sir Robert Walpole—a measure of much greater efficacy, though of less *eclat*, than this boasted scheme of reduction.

About this time, an act of parliament also Act for the
encourage-
ment of the
British
Fisheries.
passed for the encouragement of the British fisheries, by which a company was incorporated, in order to carry into effect the purposes of the act. But as the vessels designed to rendezvous at the sound of Brassa were, according to this project, to be fitted out at the port of London, to mention no other of its numerous defects, it was clearly foreseen, and

BOOK XI. 1750. peremptorily foretold, that the scheme would prove abortive. Various efforts have since been made, at different times, to revive the public attention to this national concern, but with little success. And it yet remains for some future able and patriotic minister to adopt a grand and comprehensive plan, for the accomplishment of this most important and laudable object. Had a tenth part of the immense sums dissipated and squandered in Italian and German subsidies been employed in erecting towns, forming canals, building vessels, and procuring implements, in order to carry on the fisheries to advantage upon the spot, the highlands of Scotland might, at this day, have exhibited a smiling scene of industry and plenty, instead of presenting to our view the cheerless aspect of poverty and wretchedness, or rather the hideous picture of solitude and desolation*.

* "In travelling from Soleure to Aaraw," says a late most intelligent traveller and enlightened patriot—lord Gardenstone, "the finely-diversified hills are, as in other parts of our tour through this delightful country, covered with pastures and woods to the summits. I cannot avoid making some mournful reflexions in my own mind when I compare those beautiful hills with our bleak and barren mountains in the north of Scotland. I have no doubt that it is practicable to convert all our barren moors into fruitful fields, and to cover all our hills with pasture or plantations. When this is done,

Philip V., of Spain, whose partiality to France seemed to increase with increasing years, being now deceased, and his son and successor Ferdinand cherishing a sincere desire to maintain a perfect amity with Great Britain, a treaty or convention was this year concluded at Madrid, between don Joseph de Carvajal, the Spanish minister, and Mr. Keene, the En-

BOOK XL
1750.
Convention
of Madrid.

Scotland, with its natural advantages, with its numerous tracts of fertile land, its fine lakes and rivers, and its situation as part of the British island, will become a beautiful country, and fit to be compared to the best parts of Switzerland."— But, alas! the treasures of Britain have long been devoted to far other purposes than those of internal cultivation and improvement. In the ardent anticipation of an age in which the true interests of mankind will be better understood, and more successfully pursued, it is pleasing to advert, amidst the splendid roving of imagination, to the noble and picturesque description of the poet, whose magic Muse

—High hovering o'er the broad cerulean scene

Saw Caledonia in romantic view:

Her airy mountains from the waving main

Invested with a keen diffusive sky

Breathing the soul acute; her forests huge

Incult, robust, and tall, by Nature's hand

Planted of old; her azure lakes between

Poured out extensive, and of watery wealth

Full;—winding deep and green her fertile vales;

With many a cool translucent brimming flood

Wash'd lovely, from the Tweed, pure parent stream,

To where the north-inflated tempest foams

O'er Orca's or Betubium's highest peak.

Remark-
able ac-
knowledg-
ment of Mr.
Pitt.

BOOK XI.

1750.

Remark-
able ac-
knowledge-
ment of Mr.
Pitt.

glish envoy, by which the points referred to the decision of commissaries, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, were finally terminated, and the commercial privileges of the English nation fully restored. No mention, however, and much less any direct renunciation, was made of the right of search claimed by the Spaniards, and which was the original cause of the war. And when this omission was strongly urged by the opposition in parliament, as inconsistent with the positive declaration of the two houses at the commencement of the war, who concurred in an address to the throne, that no treaty of peace with Spain should be admitted, unless such renunciation should be first obtained as a preliminary; Mr. Pitt, who had been a strenuous advocate for this address, offered an apology for his conduct,—as a minister of the crown concurring in the measures now the subject of censure,—somewhat novel and singular. “He acknowledged that he had contended strongly for the address alluded to, because, at that time, being young and sanguine, he thought it right and reasonable. But he was now ten years older, had considered matters more coolly, and was convinced that the privilege of *no search*, with respect to British vessels sailing near the American shore, would never be obtained unless Spain should be brought so low

as to acquiesce in any terms we, as victors, ^{BOOK XI.} might propose." This was a virtual vindication of the conduct and principles of the late minister, sir Robert Walpole, in his negotiations with Spain, against which Mr. Pitt had so often and so eloquently declaimed; and such an avowal could only be regarded as an involuntary species of homage paid to the memory of that sagacious and able statesman. ^{1750.}

In the course of the present summer, 1750, ^{Death of Juan V., king of Portugal.} died don Juan V., king of Portugal,—a prince not destitute of ability, but tainted with a wretched spirit of bigotry and persecution. He was succeeded by his son don Joseph, at whose accession the infanta Isabella became heiress of the crown. And in order to preserve the sceptre of Portugal in the house of Braganza, this princess, by virtue of a papal dispensation, was married to her uncle, the infant don Pedro, brother to the king; the first issue of which nuptials, Joseph Xavier, prince of Brazil, while of an age yet immature, was, by a similar alliance—an alliance at which nature and custom equally revolt—married to his aunt, donna Maria, sister to Isabella, the present queen.

In consequence of the death of his royal highness the prince of Wales, a bill was ^{1751.} presented by the duke of Newcastle to the house of peers (May 1751), to provide for the admi- ^{Regency bill passed.}

BOOK XI.

1751.

nistration of government, in case the crown should descend to a minor; and the princess dowager of Wales was appointed regent of Great Britain and Ireland, assisted by a council composed of the great officers of state, the duke of Cumberland presiding at the head. This was a hazardous and dangerous plan, which, had it been carried into effect, would have laid the foundation of a divided and distracted government. Happily, however, the king lived till his successor attained to the age of majority, and the regency bill, which was justly and strongly opposed in parliament, sunk unnoticed into silence and oblivion.

Bill for re-
forming the
calendar.

Among the most remarkable bills of the present session was that introduced by the earl of Chesterfield for the reformation of the calendar, notwithstanding the previous and avowed disapprobation of the duke of Newcastle, who declared himself "averse to disturb that which was at rest; adding, that he did not love new-fangled things." The bill, however, was received with general applause, and was supported in the house of peers by the earl of Macclesfield, with a display of profound and scientific knowledge which reflected upon that nobleman the highest honor, as the successor to the chair of NEWTON, and president of the most learned society in Europe. The Julian

computation of time, either from ignorance or negligence, supposing a complete solar revolution to be effected in the precise period of three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, made no provision for the apparently trifling deficiency of eleven minutes, which, however, in the lapse of eighteen centuries, amounted to a difference of eleven days. A reformation of the calendar had been accomplished in the sixteenth century, under the auspices of pope Gregory XIII.; but the authority of the Roman pontiff extending over the catholic countries only, the ancient computation still continued in use in England and the other northern kingdoms. But, by the bill now introduced, it was decreed that the new year should begin, in conformity to the Gregorian reform, on the first of January, and that eleven intermediate nominal days, between the second and fourteenth of September 1752, should be omitted, so that the day succeeding the second should be denominated the fourteenth of that month—an alteration not less favorable to commercial than to astronomical accuracy and precision.

Frederic, king of Sweden, and landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, dying at this period, was succeeded, agreeably to the convention formerly made with Russia, by Adolphus Frederic, duke

Death of
Frederic,
king of
Sweden.

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BOOK XI. of Holstein Eutin, bishop of Lubec—married to
1751. the sister of his Prussian majesty. This prince, on his accession to the throne, took a voluntary oath, in full senate, that he would never attempt to introduce a despotic authority, but would maintain their liberties with his blood, and govern his subjects in all respects according to the laws and form of government established in Sweden. This declaration was peculiarly acceptable to the court of St. Petersburg, which had entertained jealous apprehensions that the intrigues of the French and Prussian factions, for changing the form of government, were countenanced and supported by the successor—and had actually assembled an army on the frontiers of Finland, which menaced Sweden with invasion; declaring, at the same time, her firm resolution to maintain inviolate that constitution of which she was the guarantee. By this complaisant, or rather submissive, conduct, the harmony between the two countries appeared firmly consolidated. The political depression of Sweden, which was the necessary consequence of the radical defects of her government, was in the highest degree favorable to the ambitious designs of Russia; and, in conformity to the same insidious and interested policy, the court of St. Petersburg would suffer no improvement of the anarchic

constitution of Poland. A violent misunderstanding between the two courts of Petersburg and Berlin was the result of their opposing politics relative to the affairs of Sweden—his Prussian majesty declaring his determination to defend that kingdom with his whole force, in case of an attack from Russia; and the ambassadors on each side were recalled. This misunderstanding, heightened by mutual criminations and reproaches into the most bitter animosity, after an interval of some years, terminated in open rupture: and the king of Prussia was taught, by fatal experience, to repent the gross and wanton provocations by which he had ventured to excite the resentment of the czarina. It is worthy of remark, that the subsidies received, during the course of his reign, from England, by the late king of Sweden in the mere capacity of landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, on an accurate computation, amounted to the astonishing sum of one million two hundred and forty-nine thousand six hundred and ninety-nine pounds sterling*. In the course of this year

* Soon after the death of the king of Sweden, prince Frederic of Hesse-Cassel, who had in 1740 espoused the princess Mary, third daughter of the king of England, thought fit to renounce his religion, and declare himself a Roman-catholic, to the great injury of the protestant interest in the empire, and the general regret of the English nation and the protestants throughout Europe.

BOOK XI. (1751) also died Louisa, queen of Denmark,
 1751. youngest daughter of his Britannic majesty, a princess endowed with every graceful and amiable accomplishment, and deservedly dear to the Danish monarch and nation. Nearly at the same time the United Provinces sustained a public loss by the death of his serene highness the prince of Orange, who leaving only an infant son, the administration of the government devolved upon the princess of Orange, as gouvernante, during the minority, in which station she conducted affairs with much prudence and ability.

When the parliament met in November (1751), the king informed them that he had, in conjunction with the States-General—whose intimate union and friendship with England had been in no degree impaired by the unfortunate death of the stadtholder—concluded treaties with the electors of Bavaria and Saxony, in addition to those subsisting with the electors of Mentz and Cologne; and another was soon afterwards happily adjusted with the elector palatine; and the vast sums which these princes demanded as the purchase of their friendship were cheerfully and loyally voted at the requisition of the court. The immediate object of these alliances was to secure a majority of the voices of the electoral college, in the view of an ap-

Intrigues on
 the election
 of a king of
 the Ro-
 mans.

proaching election of a king of the Romans in the person of the archduke Joseph, eldest son of the emperor; for, this prince having yet scarcely passed the years of infancy, it was reasonably to be apprehended, that this favorite project might, in the execution, be attended with embarrassment and difficulty. A vigorous, however, if not a formidable resistance was made in the house of commons to the ratification of these treaties by parliament. For some years past lord Egmont had been regarded as the head of the anti-courtiers — a nobleman whose knowledge and talents were considerably above mediocrity, but whose opposition was too palpably indiscriminate and personal; and the voice of the minority in the house of commons was no longer the voice of the majority of the people. This was an occasion, however, which furnished his lordship with a wide scope for argument as well as invective. “He declared himself an enemy to all subsidy-treaties in time of peace. The views and circumstances of princes and states were perpetually changing, and their decisions would ever be influenced by present interests, and not past obligations; of which he said we had full proof during the last war in the conduct of the Danes and Hessians, the former of whom deserted us, and the latter had actually engaged against us.

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1751.

By entering into treaties of this nature, without the previous authority of parliament, he acknowledged the house was indeed reduced to a disagreeable dilemma—they must either expose their sovereign to the contempt of foreign powers, or they must sacrifice the interests of their constituents by imposing unnecessary burdens upon the country. But of two evils he would choose the least, by refusing the subsidies, and endeavour to vindicate the honor of the sovereign by punishing those ministers who advised such pernicious measures.”

Sir John Hynde Cotton forcibly remarked, “ that France was one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, and consequently of the liberties and constitution of the German empire; and our thus granting subsidies to the electors will furnish her with a plausible pretext for asserting that the liberties of the empire are invaded by means of bribery and corruption; and may incite her to assume the character of the defender of the Germanic constitution against such scandalous attempts. With regard, therefore, to the election of a king of the Romans, he was of opinion that the German princes ought to be left entirely to themselves; and that the wisest course England could take was, by the establishment of an economical system, and the effectual reduction of

the national debt, to prepare for a future war BOOK XI.
whenever a real and national necessity to en- 1751.
gage in a war should be proved to exist."

It was also urged, in the course of the debate, that motives of policy no less than of economy militated against the granting of these subsidies; for, when we have taken the whole electoral college into pay, they will certainly, for the sake of having the subsidies renewed and continued, put off from time to time, on such pleas as can never be wanting, the election until the death of the present emperor; for, should the election be once made, the subsidies will of course cease. By the officious and invidious interposition of Great Britain, it was affirmed to be too probable that an intestine war in the empire might be not *prevented*, as was alleged by the partisans of the court, but *excited*: for the other two colleges of the diet would certainly join with France in protesting against the validity of an election so circumstanced; in which case, it might be reasonably expected that some of the electors themselves, who now so readily accepted our bribes, might be bribed to act against us. The goodness of his majesty's *intentions* no one presumed to doubt; but to compliment, in the mode now proposed, the depth of his wisdom, or the extent of his penetration, would be ridiculous.

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1751.

As to that "union with his allies," on which such stress seemed to be laid in his majesty's speech from the throne, it was certainly very desirable if it could be effected without sacrificing the true interests of the nation: but there could be no sufficient reason for purchasing their friendship by extravagant subsidies, at a time when we had so little money to spare; since this union must always be a matter of much more importance to them than to us. England should at all times be slow and cautious of intermeddling in the affairs of the continent, if we wished to avoid exciting resentments and jealousies. Were the liberties of Europe at this or any other crisis really endangered, the powers of the continent would no doubt solicit with eagerness our assistance; whereas, we were now giving them bribes for permission to interpose when there was no reason to believe that the empire at large were desirous of our interference, or would be benefited by it.

The system of policy adopted by the English court was not, however, to be shaken by such frivolous arguments; and after an inextricable tissue of negotiations and intrigues, most assiduously carried on with the different German princes, the elector of Mentz, chancellor of the empire, at length convoked an electoral diet. But the king of Prussia, elec-

tor of Brandenburg, who had, on the first indication of this design, manifested his dislike and disapprobation, now publicly opposed it with the utmost vehemence and pertinacity. “He declared the election in contemplation to be contrary to the laws and constitution of the empire, as promulgated in the *golden bull*, and confirmed by the treaty of Westphalia, from which the electoral college had no right to depart. In the cases only of long absence, continued indisposition, or accidental emergency, which could not now be pretended to exist, did the imperial capitulations admit the lawfulness of proceeding to the election of a king of the Romans during the lifetime of the emperor. And, should the imperial crown devolve to a minor, he affirmed that many mischiefs and disorders must necessarily ensue, as the constitutions of the empire had established no regency for the government of it in a case unknown to all preceding times, but had only appointed vicars during an actual vacancy of the imperial throne—that an election in these circumstances would be incompatible with the Germanic liberties, and with the fundamental privileges of the princes and states of the empire—that the imperial dignity would be virtually changed from an elective to an hereditary succession, perpetuated in one family, which

BOOK XI. must thus be aggrandised to the prejudice of its
1751. co-estates, and the manifest subversion of the constitution of the empire." In consequence of these spirited remonstrances of the Prussian monarch, several of the electors seemed to waver in their opinion; the king of France also solemnly protesting, "that although for the sake of peace he would not oppose this election, contrary as it was to the *golden bull*, provided it should be confirmed by the unanimous consent of the electoral college; yet should *any one* of the members signify his dissent, and claim the protection of France, he could not refuse granting his assistance, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia."

Attempts having been in vain made to soften the king of Prussia, the courts of Vienna and London were at length compelled to desist from the prosecution of their design, though their imperial majesties could not refrain from displaying marks of the bitterest resentment at the conduct of the Prussian monarch; and were evidently watching, with eager anxiety, for a favorable opportunity of revenge. The determined and resolute opposition of the king of Prussia to this measure, which he passes over, in the History of his Times, in deep and mysterious silence, seems best accounted for by the prevalent suspicion, that, in case of the demise

of the emperor, he harboured a secret design of offering himself as a candidate for the imperial throne. And it is probable, that a knowledge or persuasion of the aspiring views of the Prussian monarch principally incited the court of Vienna to urge with such persevering ardor a project so irregular and invidious. At this period, the courts of Berlin and London were scarcely less at variance than those of Vienna and Berlin; and the king of Prussia openly expressed his resentment of the conduct of the king of England, "who had, by the influence of English subsidies, embarrassed and embroiled the affairs of Germany, in which he had no right to interfere."

BOOK XI.
1751.

A profound tranquillity at this time prevailed throughout the island of Great Britain; and the attention of the ministers seemed, by a perfect novelty in politics, to be wholly engrossed in devising and bringing forward, for the discussion and approbation of parliament, plans and proposals for the public good. The following acts, passed in this and the preceding session, may justly be regarded as of this class:—The act for applying the rents and profits of the forfeited estates in Scotland, for the better civilising and improving the Highlands—the act for allowing the importation of

1752.
Laudable
plans of the
minister
Mr. Pel-
ham.

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1752.

wool and woollen yarn from Ireland—the act for the more effectual performance of quarantine—the act for repressing the barbarous practice of plundering ships wrecked on the British coast—the act for laying open the trade to Turkey—the act establishing the British museum by the parliamentary purchase of the famous collection of sir Hans Sloane, joined to the Harleian collection of MSS. and the Cottonian and Westminster libraries. A plan for regulating and rendering efficient the militia of the kingdom was however rejected through the influence of the crown, ever jealous of measures affecting its power over the sword. It is worthy of mention, that the whole expense of the naval, military, and civil establishment of the year 1753, under the honest and economical administration of Mr. Pelham, amounted to less than three millions. And although the land-tax was reduced to two shillings in the pound, the excess of the supplies left a sum of 300,000*l.* in the exchequer.—How alarming has since been the progress of extravagance and corruption!

1753.

Bill for the
naturalisa-
tion of the
Jews
passed.

Among other laudable and liberal projects, a bill, of a nature not very important indeed, was introduced and passed in the session of 1753, permitting the naturalisation, under cer-

tain restrictions, of persons born out of the realm, professing the Jewish religion* ; it being supposed, or at least hoped, that such a measure would operate as an inducement to opulent foreigners of that persuasion to remove with their effects to Great Britain, to the obvious increase of the national commerce, credit, and prosperity. A most absurd and unexpected alarm, however, was taken by the public at this just and beneficial measure ; and it was asserted, that this adoption of *vagrant Jews* into the community, and investing them with the rights of denizens, would rob the natives of their birth-right—would tend to deprive them, by setting up a rivalry of interest and industry, of the means of employment—would endanger the constitution in church and state—and would be an indelible reproach to the legislature of a Christian nation. It was even affirmed, by some heated enthusiasts, that this act was an impious attempt to invalidate the scriptural prophecies, which declare that the Jews shall be a scattered people, possessing no fixed or settled habitation until their conversion to

* This famous bill of naturalisation gave no greater privileges to those who might be desirous of taking the advantage of it, than to Jews who were born in England, which are much inferior to those which they enjoy in many other countries.

BOOK XI. Christianity, and their consequent restoration
 1753. to the promised land; though it certainly could not be pretended, that the nations of the earth are enjoined, by any precept of Christianity, to treat the Jews with injustice or inhumanity, in order to insure the accomplishment of this prophecy. In the ensuing session, however, the clamor continuing, and even increasing, the bill was repealed, as one of those necessary sacrifices which wisdom is occasionally compelled to offer at the altar of prejudice and folly.

Jews' naturalisation bill repealed.
 1754.

Death of Mr. Pelham:

His character.

This was one of the last acts of Mr. Pelham's administration—that minister dying, March 1754, in the meridian of his life, reputation, and usefulness. Rectitude of understanding and disposition seems to have constituted his leading characteristic. Whatever appears erroneous in his conduct proceeded chiefly from the imperfection and absurdity of that general system of politics which he found too firmly established to be, without an effort too mighty, susceptible of any material alteration *. But

* In a confidential conversation with Mr. Pelham, lord Melcombe tells us, that this minister opened to him the bottom of his politics—"that he had a great regard for all Europe, but did not trouble himself much about it; that his concern was to keep things on a right foot at home; that he was at this period chiefly solicitous to have a thorough whig par-

the many excellent acts passed under his influence and patronage plainly indicate an unremitted attention to the interest, and a sincere and earnest desire to promote the happiness, of his country. His genius was not of an enterprising cast; and, when occasionally urged to adopt more bold and vigorous measures of political reform, he was accustomed to answer, "that things would last his time." And the general tenor of his conduct showed, that he was less anxious to avoid the censure of timidity than of rashness. He lived and died esteemed and lamented, both by the sovereign and the nation *. Mr. Legge, a man of honor

liament chosen, which would make the remainder of his majesty's life easy, and would settle the young prince upon the throne so as to secure him the prospect of a prosperous reign. If they would let him do this, he was at their service; if not, he could be contented to be a private man as well as another. Touching upon the subsidies attending the election of a king of the Romans, *Mr. Pelham's face fell*, and he grew very uneasy upon it; and expressed much dislike of the way it was conducted. He said he was always against those subsidies; that his idea was, that, if the dissentient electors would give in the *ultimatum* of their demands, and perform the conditions before they received the reward; then, indeed, when we were sure of our bargain, it might be worth considering, *whether it were prudent to pay the price*; but to be buying one elector after another was what he ABHORRED: it must have an end, and he had declared so in parliament."

* To the mild and amiable character of this justly valued

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1754.

Duke of
Newcastle
minister :--
His inca-
pacity.

and capacity, after a short interval, succeeded Mr. Pelham as chancellor of the exchequer. The seals being consigned to sir Thomas Robinson, formerly ambassador at the court of Vienna, a minister of very moderate political attainments and little conversant in parliamentary intrigues and conflicts, the post of first lord of the treasury was occupied by the duke of Newcastle. But it soon appeared how unequal were the talents of this nobleman to the task of government, when deprived of the assistance of the counsellor and coadjutor with whom he had been ever united in the strictest bands of political and fraternal amity. And the first remarkable incident of his administration too plainly showed that public measures were no longer actuated by the wise and beneficent counsels of Mr. Pelham.

Barbarous
execution
of Dr. Ca-
meron.

Dr. Cameron, brother to the celebrated Cameron of Lochiel, had been engaged in the rebellion of 1745, and, after the decisive victory of Culloden, had effected his escape to the continent. Mr. Pope has paid an elegant tribute of applause in one of his poetic epistles.

“ Pleas’d let me own in Esher’s peaceful grove,
Where Kent and Nature vie for Pelham’s love,
The scene, the master, opening to my view,
I sit and dream I see my Craggs anew.”

continent. Notwithstanding his being attainted by BOOK XI.
1754. act of parliament, he ventured, after an interval of nine years, to return *incognito* to Scotland, in order to transact certain affairs of great consequence, but of a nature entirely private and personal—relying in case of exigence, with fatal indiscretion, on the mildness and equity of the British government, now raised far above the apprehension of danger; on the temper of the times; and the general respectability of his own character. Being however by some means discovered, he was apprehended and brought to his trial at the Old Bailey; and his person being legally identified, he was convicted, and suffered the death of a traitor with admirable firmness and resignation. It is remarkable, that even the populace were melted into tears at the melancholy spectacle of his execution; generously lamenting the excessive rigor of his fate; which can never be justified upon any public principles of necessity or utility, and which bears the odious aspect of an act of obdurate and sanguinary revenge. Under what false colors the monarch was prevailed upon to give his sanction to this proceeding cannot now be ascertained: but we are assured that he signed the fatal warrant with much reluctance, saying, “Surely there has been too much blood spilt upon this account already!”

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1754.

Disputes
between the
ministry &
the Irish
parliament.

A far more conspicuous proof, however, of the rashness and incapacity of the present administration appeared in the haughty tenor of their conduct respecting the parliament of Ireland, in an affair of great delicacy and importance—unmindful that the harp, emblematic of this kingdom, produces by means of soft and gentle touches only its genuine harmony. In the year 1749, a considerable surplus remaining in the Irish exchequer, the house of commons in that country, conceiving that they had an undoubted right to appropriate such surplus to national purposes, prepared heads of a bill with that design, to which was affixed the following preamble: “Whereas, on the 25th of March last, a considerable balance remained in the hands of the vice-treasurers, or receivers-general, of the kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, unapplied; and it will be for your majesty’s service, and for the ease of your faithful subjects in this kingdom, that so much thereof as can be conveniently spared should be paid, agreeably to your majesty’s most gracious intention, in discharge of part of the national debt,” &c. &c. On the transmission of this bill to England, it was affirmed, by the warm partisans of prerogative in the council, that the commons of Ireland had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even

to take into consideration the propriety of such BOOK XI.
appropriation, without the previous consent of 
the crown, formally and explicitly declared. 1754.
In the ensuing session of parliament therefore,
A. D. 1751, the duke of Dorset, lord-lieutenant
of Ireland, informed the two houses of parlia-
ment, in his speech from the throne, that he
was commanded by the king to acquaint them,
that his majesty, ever attentive to the ease and
happiness of his subjects, would graciously *con-*
sent, and recommended it to them, that such a
part of the money then remaining in his trea-
sury as should be thought consistent with the
public services, be applied towards the further
reduction of the national debt. The commons
of Ireland, astonished at this procedure of the
court, and tremblingly alive in a case which so
nearly concerned their privileges, omitted, in
their address of thanks, all mention of his ma-
jesty's *consent*, and only acknowledged his gra-
cious attention to their ease and happiness, in
recommending to them the application of the
surplus. And in the subsequent bill framed
for this purpose, in which one hundred and
twenty thousand pounds were appropriated to
the discharge of the public debt, the same
omission was observable. The ministers in
England, highly offended with this contuma-
cious conduct, returned the bill with an alte-

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ration in the preamble, signifying his majesty's *consent* as well as approbation. And the Irish house of commons, unwilling to risk the consequences of a serious rupture, passed the bill without further notice. So far had the misunderstanding between the crown and parliament of Ireland proceeded previous to the death of Mr. Pelham, and thus might it have for ever rested, had not the evil genius of the present minister suggested the necessity of supporting the *honor of government*, by positive directions to the duke of Dorset, in opening the session of the present year, to repeat the expression of his majesty's gracious *consent*, in mentioning the surplus of the public money. The house, in their address, not only again omitted the obnoxious word *consent*, but the former expressions of grateful acknowledgement: and the bill of appropriation was transmitted to England, entirely divested of the usual complimentary preamble, which the ministers of the crown in England, in their great wisdom, thought fit thus to supply—"And your majesty, ever attentive to the ease and happiness of your faithful subjects, has been graciously pleased to signify that you would *consent*, and to recommend it to us, that so much of the money remaining in your majesty's treasury as should be necessary, be applied to the dis-

charge of the national debt, or such part thereof as should be thought expedient by parliament." On the return of the bill, the whole nation seemed animated by the spirit of resistance; and, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the court, the bill, thus amended, was thrown out by a majority of five voices, and the victory of the opposition was celebrated by universal rejoicings. In revenge, all those who voted against the bill holding public employments were immediately dismissed. But the rejection of the bill occasioning a great stagnation in the usual course of circulation, and the clamor of the public rising high against the government, it was thought proper and necessary, -by a humiliating concession, to devote the surplus to the discharge of the debt in virtue of a royal letter. Thus was the dignity of government, which ought never to be lightly or capriciously committed, most sensibly wounded. Ireland was taught to know her own strength and importance, and the first symptoms of that high and haughty spirit of independence were now discernible, which have since produced such mighty effects.

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1754.

If England, at this period, exhibited, by the clamorous opposition of almost all ranks of people to the Jew bill, plain indications that the spirit of fanaticism was by no means extin-

State of affairs in France.

BOOK XI.

1754.

guished in the nation, the same spirit operated, at the same time, in France, in a manner much more serious and alarming. Under a delusive veil of festivity, pomp, and splendor, the court of Versailles, during the whole of the reign of Louis XIV., and particularly the latter years of it, concealed a most unrelenting and sanguinary spirit of bigotry and persecution. This spirit displayed itself not merely in the savage folly of that policy by which he attempted the extirpation of the protestants, but also in his treatment of such of the catholics themselves as presumed, in any respect, to deviate from the established dogmas of the Romish church. About the middle of the last century, a very celebrated treatise, under the title of *Augustinus*, had been written by Cornelius Jansen, bishop of Ypres, on the abstruse theological topics of grace, predestination, and free will, in which he explains those tenets in a mode different from that usually adopted and maintained in the schools, but perfectly consonant, as this reverend and learned prelate alleged, to the divine and apostolic doctrine of the great St. Austin. As this novel and therefore rash explication, however, very nearly accorded with that of Calvin and the other leading reformers of the protestant churches, it excited great alarm and indignation; and the book was repeatedly cen-

sured, at different and distant intervals of time, by the intervention and authority of the papal chair. Nevertheless, the partisans and admirers of this famous treatise, who were now distinguished by the name of Jansenists, seemed continually to increase; and it was at length thought necessary, by a bull issued by pope Clement XI. at the beginning of the present century, with all the terrific accompaniments of pontifical authority, solemnly to declare, "that all the faithful ought to condemn as heretical, not only with their mouths, but in their hearts," certain specified propositions, in number no less than one hundred and one, extracted from the book of Jansenius, or the writings of the Jansenists *. This constitution was re-

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Bull Unigenitus.

* Among other "*abominable tenets*" condemned by this famous bull, are the following. Prop. 79: "Tis profitable and necessary in all times, all places, and for all sorts of persons to study and know the spirit, piety, and mysteries of the Holy Scriptures. Prop. 80: The reading of the Holy Scriptures is for all. Prop. 81: The sacred obscurity of the Word of God is no reason for the laity to dispense with the obligation of reading it. Prop. 82: The Sunday ought to be sanctified by lectures of piety, and chiefly from the Holy Scriptures.—"Having heard," says the sovereign pontiff, "the judgement of the cardinals and other divines delivered to us both in word and writing, and having implored the assistance of divine light by appointing private and also public prayers for that end, we do by this our UNALTERABLE CONSTITUTION denounce, condemn, and reject, all and every one of the pro-

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ceived by the Gallican church, and promulgated by the king's command and authority. But this bull, far from terminating, only aggravated and inflamed the dispute; and converted it from a theological to a political controversy. The clergy in general, and more especially the Jesuits, were eager and zealous in their efforts to support the dignity of the

positions aforesaid, as false, captious, offensive to pious ears, scandalous, pernicious, rash, injurious to the church, to the state seditious—wicked, blasphemous, heretical, schismatical. Whoever shall teach, defend, or publish the said propositions, or any of them, or shall treat of them by way of dispute, public or private, unless to impugn them, shall *ipso facto* incur the penalties and censures of the church. And we do require all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and other ordinaries, and also inquisitors of heresy, that by all means they restrain and reduce whomsoever shall contradict or rebel against the said constitution, by the penalties and censures aforesaid, and the other remedies of law and fact, *even by calling in, if need be, the SECULAR POWER.*" This remarkable bull thus concludes—"Let no one, then, infringe or audaciously oppose this our declaration, condemnation, prohibition, and interdict; and if any one presume to attempt this, let him know he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and that of his blessed apostles Peter and Paul." Dated September 8, 1713.—The power of the papacy has indeed suffered a mighty declension, but the spirit of popery has in all ages remained invariably the same. Reason, aghast at the enormity of such pretensions, and disdaining to enter into a serious investigation of them, can only exclaim, "Oh madness! pride! impiety!"

Romish see, and to enforce the acceptance of the papal bull. On the other hand, the parliaments of the kingdom, and particularly the parliament of Paris, embraced every opportunity to express their contempt and hatred of the bull and its partisans.

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The archbishop of Paris, a haughty and turbulent prelate, stood forth at this period as the champion of the church, and encouraged and commanded the clergy to deny the sacraments *in articulo mortis* to all persons refusing to subscribe the bull UNIGENITUS *. Divers ecclesiastics adhering to this injunction were apprehended by authority of the parliament for their contumacious and illegal conduct. Severe censures were passed upon the archbishop, and a prosecution actually commenced against the bishop of Orleans; when a mandate from the court was issued, prohibiting all further proceedings in these matters. The parliament, in return, presented a spirited remonstrance to the throne, declaring it to be their indispensable duty and privilege to denounce and execute judgement on all delinquents. And, on the renewal of the royal command, they framed new remonstrances, to which the king refused

* By this appellation the bull was universally known, the term *Unigenitus* being the first word contained in it.

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to reply, referring them to his former peremptory declaration. Upon which the parliament resolved “that the different chambers should remain assembled, but that all business should be suspended while, by the practices of evil-minded persons, truth was prevented from reaching the throne.” Another mandate was now issued, ordering the parliament to revoke this resolution on pain of the king’s high displeasure; instead of which, a second resolution was passed, that they could not comply with this injunction without violating their duty and their oath. Upon which, *lettres de cachet* were immediately issued, and the members of the parliament banished to distant parts of the kingdom: and a royal chamber was instituted for the intermediate administration of public justice. The letters patent for the establishment of this court were, however, according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, not valid till they were judicially enregistered; and the parliament of Paris being now no more, application was made to the inferior court of the Chatelet, which declared its absolute incompetency for that purpose: and the *lieutenant civile* appearing in the court in order to enforce the registry, all the counsellors rose up and retired, leaving on the table an *arrêt* containing their protest against these proceedings: in conse-

quence of which, several of the most respectable and spirited members of this court were committed to the Bastile. The nation at large was now in the highest degree inflamed and exasperated at the despotic conduct of the court. The provincial parliaments presented bold remonstrances to the throne, justificatory of the parliament of Paris. The prosecutions of the contumacious priests were every-where continued, and things seemed evidently tending to open and general revolt, when the court thought proper to avert the storm by a recall of the parliament, who publicly re-entered Paris amidst the loudest acclamations of the people. And the archbishop persisting in his former exhortations and directions to the clergy, was sent as an exile to Conflans-sous-Charenton. But the wound occasioned by this dissension between the court and parliament was never radically healed ; and the king, after the lapse of about two years, not only recalled the archbishop, but received, with decided marks of royal approbation, a bull from the Roman pontiff, in which those who rejected the bull *Unigenitus* were piously consigned to everlasting damnation, and the reiterated refusal of the sacraments confirmed by the authoritative sanction of the holy see. The parliament of Paris, regarding this bull as a direct

BOOK XI. attack upon the rights of the Gallican church
1754. and nation, issued an *arrêt* for its suppression:

upon which fresh contests arose; but the parliament remained firm, and the court was finally compelled to desist from those claims and pretensions which it had so unwisely and unseasonably agitated.

This memorable struggle made a mighty and lasting impression upon the minds of the people. The popularity of the monarch, formerly distinguished by the flattering appellation of *Le bien-aimé*, was for ever departed. New and interesting ideas began to revolve in the public mind. The origin of the controversy was, in the progress of it, forgotten; and the recal of the parliament was not the triumph of Jansenism, but of liberty. The despotic acts of the court were regarded by the nation with emotions of horror. Various publications, by writers of the highest talents, successively appeared, in which the principles of just and equitable government were explained and illustrated with irresistible force and energy; the boldest speculations were indulged; prejudices the most deeply rooted were successfully assailed; an eager and ardent spirit of research was excited: touched by the wand of Philosophy, the mighty talisman by which the nation had been fast bound in the sleep of a thousand

years was suddenly dissolved; Reason began to resume her empire, and an internal revolution now commenced—a revolution of the mind, which was pre-ordained, in the gradual and regular progression of events, to produce an external revolution unparalleled for the magnitude of its object, and the extent of its consequences, in the annals of mankind. But, alas! no unmixed good has ever yet been the lot of mortals; and experience too clearly evinces that truths of the highest moral and political importance, when first suggested to men long bowed down by the iron hand of Oppression, and newly awakened to a sense of their own rights, are as flashes of lightning which irradiate the gloom with a pale, terrific, and dangerous lustre.

The political contentions, however, which at this period arose between the kingdoms of Great Britain and France, and which terminated in a long and bloody war, seemed, for some years, to absorb all internal and domestic commotion; and the resources of both nations were exhausted in a contest which a very small portion of wisdom, had they been really and mutually disposed to conciliation, might have sufficed to accommodate.—After the cession of Nova Scotia by the treaty of Utrecht,

Opposite
pretensions
of Great
Britain and
France re-
specting
their terri-
torial rights
in America.

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the British colonies in North America extended along the western shore of the Atlantic for near a thousand miles, and, according to the tenor of the charters granted to the original settlers, the dominion of the soil was bounded only by the Pacific Ocean on the opposite side of the continent. Spain, in whom were vested the rights attached to the first discovery, advanced claims no less extravagant, and regarded as unwarrantable usurpations the successive settlements of the English nation. France, which held in contempt the pretensions both of England and Spain, established, at a more recent period, colonies on the river St. Laurence to the north, and on the Mississippi to the south, of the English settlements: and a systematic and artfully concerted plan was formed to connect these widely-distant establishments by the gradual erection of a chain of fortresses from the lakes Erie and Ontario, along and beyond the Ohio to the *embouchure* of the Mississippi. To the rich and immense plains extending on both sides of that vast river they gave the appellation of Louisiana; and they contended, that the English colonies were of right bounded by the range of high lands which ran parallel to the coast, at the distance of one hundred and fifty or

two hundred miles, under the different names of the Apalachian, Alleghaheny, or Blue Mountains. BOOK XI.
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The province of Nova Scotia being ceded to England, according to the *ancient limits* of that territory, fruitless and endless altercations arose, as to the import of this expression, between the commissaries of the two nations, to whom the right of fixing the boundaries of the rival empires was assigned; the English claiming the whole territory as far as the southern bank of the river St. Laurence, and the French admitting their right only to the peninsula of Acadie.

Another very serious cause of dispute originated in a royal charter inconsiderately and injuriously granted to certain merchants and adventurers of the city of London, who assumed the title of the Ohio company, of a large tract of ground situated on the banks of the Ohio, with an exclusive privilege of commerce with the Indian tribes inhabiting those regions. This extraordinary grant excited extreme disgust in the minds of the Virginian and Pennsylvanian traders, who saw themselves deprived of a lucrative branch of traffic, and the highest alarm among the Indian nations, who perceived with astonishment their lands measured and parcelled out by English surveyors, as if they,

BOOK XI. who were the actual occupants, had neither in-
1754. terest nor property in them. And M. du Quesne, governor of Canada, declared that he would suffer no encroachments or depredations to be made on the Indian tribes under the protection of the crown of France.

Towards the latter end of the year 1753, major Washington, since so famous under the name of general Washington, was deputed by the government of Virginia to the French commandant on the Ohio, to demand by what authority fortresses were erected, and settlements made, on the territories of the king of Great Britain; and to require him immediately to desist from the prosecution of designs carried on in open violation of the treaties subsisting between the two crowns, and totally subversive of the harmony and good understanding which his Britannic majesty was desirous to maintain and cultivate with the most christian king.

To this peremptory requisition, which almost assumed the air and tone of a menace, the French officer replied with equal spirit, that it was not his province to specify the evidence, and demonstrate the right of the king his sovereign to the lands situated on the river Ohio; but that he would transmit his message to the marquis du Quesne, his immediate supe-

rior. In the mean time, he declared his total disregard of the summons of the English governor, and, holding his command by virtue of a commission from his general, he was prepared and determined to maintain the rights, and to fulfil the duties, of his station. A far more serious remonstrance was, about the same time, presented by the earl of Albemarle, the English ambassador at Paris, to the court of Versailles, in which the various causes of complaint on the part of England were stated in very strong language. It was declared, that, while the commissaries of the two nations were engaged in adjusting the limits of the two empires, the French had taken actual possession of the territories in dispute; that they had incited the Indians of Nova Scotia and the French inhabitants of Acadie to rise in arms against the English government, and had assisted them with vessels and military stores; that acts of violence had been repeatedly exercised by the authority or countenance of the French governors against the subjects of Great Britain; and numerous fortresses erected with a view to defend their continual and manifest encroachments on the territories of his Britannic majesty: and his excellency concluded with demanding the erasure of the forts, the restitution of the persons and properties of all those

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BOOK XI. who had been captured, and an unequivocal
1754. assurance that effectual care should be taken,
by the most positive instructions to the French
commandants in America, to prevent any similar
causes of complaint in future. The French
court not being yet prepared, or not having
yet resolved to risk an open rupture with
Great Britain, replied to this memorial in
terms civilly evasive, and engaged that in-
quiries should be made, and instructions trans-
mitted to America to obviate all misunder-
standing; and several British subjects, traders
and others, seized by the French on various
pretences, were actually dismissed.

On the last day of May 1754, the parliament,
newly elected, was opened by commission, and,
in the speech delivered by the lord chancellor,
the two houses were informed, that his majesty
did not at that time think it necessary to call
their attention to the general state of the na-
tion, reserving all discussions of this nature to
the usual time of their assembling in the win-
ter; and on the fifth of June the lords commis-
sioners prorogued the parliament. Notwith-
standing this apparent indifference, the court
of London, confiding little in the specious and
artful professions of the court of Versailles,
issued orders to the English governors in Ame-
rica to repel force by force, and to take effec-

tual measures to dislodge the French from their settlements on the Ohio, where they still continued their hostilities and encroachments. A congress being appointed at Albany, consisting of commissioners from the different colonies, to which the chieftains of the Indian nations bordering on the Ohio were invited, it soon appeared, though they refused not to accept the offered and customary presents, that they were entirely attached to the French interests—a predilection indeed easy to be accounted for by the superior humanity and justice displayed in every part of the conduct of the French nation in their transactions with the ancient inhabitants of the continent, compared with the violent and imperious deportment of the English. At this meeting, it was determined that major Washington, who had already distinguished himself by his gallantry and spirit, should be detached with a corps of four hundred men, in order to occupy a post on the Ohio, where he threw up works, and began the erection of a fort, in expectation of speedy and effectual reinforcements; but before the intended succors could arrive, this officer was suddenly attacked by a much superior force of French and Indians, commanded by M. de Viller, who, after in vain summoning major Washington to surrender, marched to

BOOK XI. the attack of the fort, yet incomplete, and ill
1754. prepared for an assault, which was nevertheless sustained with great vigor; but the English garrison were at length compelled to a capitulation, and they were allowed to retreat, not unmolested indeed by the irregular attacks of the savages, to the province of Virginia. This event, as soon as the intelligence arrived in Europe, was stated, in a memorial of the earl of Albemarle, as an open violation of the peace. But the court of Versailles, no longer solicitous to keep any measures with England, treated all remonstrances with disregard; and sent large reinforcements of men, and supplies of military stores, to Quebec, with a manifest determination to pursue and defend her ambitious projects.

1755. The parliament of England met in November; but a profound silence respecting the present critical situation of affairs was observed on the part of the crown, till, in the month of March (1755), a message was delivered from the king to the parliament by sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, importing that "his majesty having, at the commencement of the session, declared it to be the principal object of his solicitude to preserve the public tranquillity, and to protect those possessions which constitute a primary source of the public pros-

perity, now found it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that the present state of affairs made it requisite to augment his forces by sea and land, and to take such other measures as might best tend to preserve the peace of Europe, and to secure the just rights of his crown in America." This message produced a warm and affectionate address, and the sum of one million was instantly voted for the purposes specified by his majesty.

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Forces augmented by sea and land.

While M. de Mirepoix, the French ambassador in London, still continued to amuse the British ministry with empty professions of peace and amity, certain intelligence was received that a powerful armament was preparing in the ports of Rochefort and Brest, destined for America; and admiral Boscawen was immediately appointed to the command of an equal force, fitted out for the avowed purpose of intercepting them. On which M. de Mirepoix declared, that the king his master would consider the first gun fired at sea as a declaration of war. The British admiral, hoping to obstruct the passage of the French fleet into the gulf of St. Laurence, took his station off the banks of Newfoundland; but, under cover of the thick fogs which so commonly prevail in those northern latitudes, the French commander eluded his vigilance; two ships of the line

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only, the Alcide and Lys, being by some accident separated from the rest, fell into the hands of the English. Upon the arrival of this intelligence at Paris, the duc de Mirepoix was immediately recalled from London, and M. de Bussy from Hanover—the king of England being now resident in that city. Letters of general reprisal were issued by the English court at this period, as well in Europe as America, and three hundred merchant ships, for the most part unsuspecting of danger, fell, in the course of the year, into the hands of the English, with not less than eight thousand sailors on board. The French vehemently exclaimed against the conduct of the English government as inconsistent with the law of nations, war not having been as yet formally declared; but the English insisted that, the French themselves being clearly the aggressors, it was just and lawful to repel force by force, and that the omission of a form was wholly immaterial.

Unfortunate expedition of general Braddock.

Early in the year 1755, general Braddock had sailed from Cork with a considerable body of regular troops, and, on his arrival in Virginia, took upon him the command of the forces destined to act against the French on the Ohio. This officer was a man of approved bravery, completely versed in all points of military discipline, but opinionated and positive in his

temper, and in his deportment austere and imperious. Wholly unacquainted with the country in which he was appointed to the chief command, and entertaining a sovereign contempt for the colonial militia, of whom his army was in a great measure composed, he heard with silent disdain all that information which the provincial officers were desirous to offer respecting the mode of conducting an American expedition through woods, deserts, and morasses, and the precautions which were necessary to guard against surprise, particularly as the Indian nations were for the most part in alliance with France. Having advanced with the most fearless security to less than ten miles of Fort Du Quesne, and without condescending, though earnestly pressed, to employ the irregulars in the service as an advanced guard, or to send out any parties to reconnoitre the country, about noon on the ninth of July, in his march through a pathless swamp, entangled amid brakes and rushes, he was on the sudden saluted with the horrid sound of the Indian war-whoop, accompanied by a general fire both on his front and flank from a concealed and invisible enemy. The vanguard immediately fell back, and terror and confusion soon spread throughout all the ranks of the army. The general, far from making any ef-

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forts to discover and disperse this dangerous ambuscade, exerted himself only to re-form and rally his troops, as if engaged with a regular army in an open plain. But the exactest discipline was, in this situation, of little avail; for, though no enemy appeared, the havoc and slaughter still continued; and the general himself being at length killed by a musket shot, the regular troops fled the field with the utmost precipitation—the provincials, so much despised, forming in the rear, and covering their retreat; major Washington, their commander, acquiring on this occasion, amidst ruin and defeat, the honors and laurels of victory. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage of the army were left in the hands of the enemy, and even the general's own cabinet with all his letters and instructions; and the whole conduct of this expedition plainly proved that personal courage, though an indispensable requisite, is only a secondary qualification in the character of a military commander. Very indifferent success also attended the operations carried on in the more northerly parts of the continent.

On the death of general Braddock, the chief command devolved upon general Shirley, who formed a plan for the reduction of the important fortresses of Crown Point and Niagara,

erected by the French on the banks of the BOOK XI.
lakes Champlain and Ontario. The expedition 1755.
against the former was conducted by general, Defeat of
the French
by sir Wil-
liam John-
son.
afterwards sir William, Johnson, a native of
Ireland, but long resident in America, where
he had acquired great and deserved popularity.
From various causes of delay, the troops des-
tined for this service arrived at the place of
rendezvous late in the summer; and were,
soon after the commencement of their march,
attacked in their camp by baron Dieskau, the
French commander, with great bravery, who
was, notwithstanding, repulsed with great loss—
the baron himself being made prisoner. Gene-
ral Johnson, however, found himself, after this
bloody encounter, too much weakened to pro-
ceed in his expedition; and, after some deli-
beration, he determined upon a retreat to Al-
bany. General Shirley himself undertook the
conduct of the enterprise against Niagara,
which, from its position, commands the com-
munication between the lakes Erie and Ontario.
But on his arrival at Oswego, a fort belonging
to the English on the south-eastern shore of
lake Ontario, he deemed it necessary to leave a
very large proportion of the troops under his
command for the defence of this post; and,
after waiting till the end of September for his
expected reinforcements and supplies of provi-

BOOK XI. sions and stores, he was informed that it would
 1755. be attended with danger to cross the lake at
 this advanced season of the year. He there-
 fore determined to defer the siege of Niagara to
 the next campaign; and set out in October on
 his return to Albany.

Operations
 of the En-
 glish gene-
 rals languid
 and unsuc-
 cessful.

The earl of Loudon, an officer of reputation
 and merit, was now appointed commander in
 chief of the British forces in America, and vest-
 ed with very extensive powers. But this no-
 bleman, from causes not easy to develop, did
 not embark from England till the latter end of
 May; and, on reaching the head quarters at
 Albany, June 29, 1756, he found all military
 operations in a manner suspended, in the ex-
 pectation of his arrival; after which a consi-
 derable time elapsed in debates and consulta-
 tions respecting the plan most proper to be
 adopted, and whether the efforts of the army
 now assembled should be directed against
 Crown Point and Ticonderago, situated at the
 southern extremity of lake Champlain; whe-
 ther a second attempt should be made against
 Niagara; or whether an expedition should be
 undertaken against Fort Du Quesne on the
 Ohio. In the midst of these deliberations, intel-
 ligence arrived, that the French, under M. de
 Montcalm, had made themselves masters of Os-
 wego, although strongly garrisoned, plentifully

Capture of
 Oswego by
 the French.

provided with all kinds of warlike stores, and defended by one hundred and twenty pieces of artillery. Apparently discouraged and disconcerted by this unfortunate event, it was determined not to risk any offensive operation during the remainder of the present season, but to employ the autumnal and winter months in making preparations for an early and vigorous campaign the ensuing year. BOOK XI.
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Notwithstanding the former disappointments, high and sanguine hopes were entertained from the great military force collected in the spring of 1757, and the avowed purpose of the commander in chief to employ his whole strength in some grand and decisive operation. Admiral Holbourne arrived at Halifax with a powerful squadron, and large reinforcements of troops, in the beginning of July; and the earl of Loudon directing his march northward, an invasion of Canada with their united forces was reasonably to be expected. At length, however, Louisburg, in the island of Cape Breton, was declared to be the object in contemplation—a scheme very favorable to the views and interests of France at this period, as it left M. de Montcalm entirely at liberty to prosecute his plans of conquest, and Louisburg was so strongly defended, that little apprehension was entertained for its safety. And the British

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commanders receiving certain intelligence, after the whole of the military and naval force destined for this expedition had rendezvoused at Halifax, that the garrison of Louisburg consisted of six thousand regular troops, exclusive of provincials, and that seventeen line-of-battle ships were moored in the harbour; it was resolved, according to the custom of this war, to postpone the expedition to a more convenient opportunity. In the mean time, the marquis de Montcalm had taken advantage of the absence of the earl of Loudon to lay siege, with an army of ten thousand men, to the important post of Fort William-Henry, situated on the southern shore of lake George. The garrison consisted of three thousand men; the fortifications were strong and in good condition; and general Webb, with about four thousand men, was posted in the vicinity, in order to maintain a communication with it: — notwithstanding which, so vigorously were the approaches of the French commander urged, that articles of capitulation were signed in six days, not only importing the entire surrender of the fort, artillery, and stores, but restraining the garrison from serving against his most christian majesty, or his allies, for the space of eighteen months. By this conquest, the French acquired the entire command of the extensive and magnificent

Capture of
Fort Wil-
liam-Henry
by the
French.

chain of lakes which connects the two great rivers St. Laurence and Mississippi, and which forms a grand line both of communication and division between the northern and southern parts of this vast continent. And thus disgracefully terminated the third campaign of the American war, in which the French, with a very inferior force, had maintained an uniform superiority, and in the course of which no advantage had been gained by the English, excepting, indeed, the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia, by the vigorous exertions of colonel Monckton, assisted by a body of provincials, expressly voted and detached by the assembly of Massachusetts for this important purpose. Nor were the operations of the war at this period more skilfully or prosperously conducted by the English nation in Europe than in America.

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The court of Versailles, finding a rupture with England inevitable, had employed earnest solicitations with the court of Madrid to take an active part in her favor. Her efforts, however, were in vain, though supported by all the influence of the queen-mother and the marquis de la Ensenada, the prime minister. The king of Spain himself was not disposed to interrupt the harmony which subsisted between Spain and Great Britain; and don Ricardo

Neutrality
of Spain.

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Wall, a Spaniard of British extraction, and formerly resident at the British court, and who possessed great credit with the king, took all imaginable pains to confirm his majesty in these favorable sentiments; and the intrigues of the minister with the court of Versailles being discovered, he was divested of his offices, which were immediately conferred upon his competitor don Ricardo. The court of Madrid, however, offered her *mediation* to compose the differences between England and France; but France insisting upon a suspension of arms in America as the preliminary condition of a negotiation, and England refusing to assent to any such preliminary, nothing could be effected. And the courts of London and Versailles, foreseeing a violent and long-protracted conflict, were assiduously engaged in forming and cultivating alliances in the different courts of Europe, in order to strengthen their respective interests. A treaty was signed by the king of England, when at Hanover, June 25 (1755), with the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, by which his serene highness engaged to hold in readiness for his majesty's service a body of twelve thousand men. But Saxony and Bavaria, notwithstanding the subsidies which they had regularly received during the years of peace, in contemplation and as the earnest of future services, now

Treaties
with Hesse-
Cassel and
Russia.

entered into opposite connexions — laughing, BOOK XI.
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no doubt, at the credulity of the English nation, in supposing honor and gratitude to be ties obligatory upon princes. In September, a treaty was signed at the palace of Kensington between his Britannic majesty and the empress of Russia, by which that princess stipulated to maintain, on the frontiers of Livonia, an army of forty thousand infantry, and fifteen thousand cavalry, and a naval force of fifty galleys, to be in immediate readiness to act at the requisition of the king of England, should the electoral dominions of that monarch be invaded in consequence of the connexion of Hanover with Great Britain; for which an annual subsidy of five hundred thousand pounds was to be advanced to the czarina.

The court of Berlin was, at this crisis, strongly assailed by the courts of London and Versailles, Alliance
between
Great Bri-
tain and
Prussia. each flattering itself with a decision in its favor. But the Prussian monarch, knowing the engagements already contracted between England and Russia, and the strict amity subsisting between the imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburg, would not venture to draw upon himself the resentment of these three formidable powers, by a renewal of the alliance with France; and, in January 1756, a treaty was signed at London between the kings of Great

BOOK XI. Britain and Prussia, by which they engaged to
 1755. oppose the introduction of any foreign troops into the empire. This article, though immediately pointed against France, amounted to a virtual renunciation of the alliance with Russia; and the czarina, resenting the conduct of the king of Great Britain, and exasperated, from causes of a personal as well as political nature, against the king of Prussia, began to listen with attention, or rather with eagerness, to the overtures of France, hitherto so much the object of her jealousy and aversion. “The empress Elizabeth,” says the king of Prussia, “who had ever been at enmity with France, rather chose to enter into a league with her, than to preserve the shadow of union with a power which had Prussia for an ally.”

Treaty of
 alliance
 between the
 courts of
 Vienna and
 Versailles.

The court of Versailles, astonished and alarmed at the defection of Prussia, which, as the king himself tells us, seemed to be considered in France almost in the light of a revolt *, now

* “La cour de Versailles paroissoit croire que le roi de Prusse étoit à l’égard de la France ce qui est un despote de Valachie à l’égard de la Porte, c’est-à-dire, un prince subordonné et obligé de faire la guerre dès qu’on lui envoie l’ordre. La nouvelle de cette alliance causa une vive sensation à Versailles dans l’esprit de Louis XV. et de son conseil; peu s’en fallut qu’ils ne dissent que le roi de Prusse s’étoit revolté contre la France.”—*Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*

directed its attention to the court of Vienna; which since the termination of the late war had given clear and repeated intimations of a desire to enter into bonds of permanent amity with France: and, to the amazement of Europe, a treaty of mutual guarantee and support was concluded and signed at Versailles, May 1756, by these two great rival powers; and the inveterate hereditary animosity subsisting for ages between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, in consequence of which oceans of blood had been shed, and the fairest countries of Christendom desolated, was at length, if the professions of princes could merit any serious regard, for ever terminated. These professions were indeed, in this instance, unusually sincere. The ruling passion of France was, at this period, the depression of the power of England—and of Austria, the subversion of that of Prussia, which had so recently aspired to a station in the first rank of European powers, and presumptuously established an unheard-of rivalry in the bosom of the empire itself to the imperial family. When an union between England and Prussia therefore took place, that repulsive force by which the houses of Bourbon and Austria had been so long sundered, was instantly changed to a political attraction, naturally leading to a strict and intimate adhesion. The ge-

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neral conduct of France left scarcely a doubt of her intention to take advantage of the political relation of Hanover to Great Britain, by the invasion of that electorate; although it must be acknowledged, that terms of neutrality were offered to the king of England as elector of Hanover, which he did not deem it consistent with his honor and dignity to accept*.

Mighty preparations being made by the French court, with the avowed design of forming a powerful army in Westphalia, an army of

* The count de Kaunitz had, in the month of January 1757, delivered a memorial to baron Steinberg, the Hanoverian minister at Vienna, offering to guarantee the neutrality of the electorate, upon condition that "those just and reasonable securities were given to the empress and her allies which ought to follow from such an engagement." An explanation of these equivocal terms being demanded, they were ultimately interpreted by the court of Vienna to mean, 1st, That a free passage should be permitted to the French and Austrian armies through the electoral dominions: 2d, That certain fortresses of the electorate should be sequestered into the hands of the king of Denmark: 3dly, That the king of England should not augment or assemble the troops of the electorate, but should disperse them in such manner as should be agreed upon." These terms were rejected with indignation; and the king of England declared the conditions proposed to him to be "so hard, so dangerous, and so inconsistent with his honor, that they could be only framed by the courts of Vienna and Versailles to furnish a pretext for executing the resolution they had already taken to invade his majesty's dominions, in contempt of the laws of equity and justice."

observation, consisting of about forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers, was assembled for the protection of the electorate: and requisitions were made by the court of London, both at Vienna and the Hague, for the assistance stipulated by treaties. The empress-queen at first alleged, that, as the contest between England and France related to America only, it was not a *casus fæderis*, and that Hanover might be secured by a treaty of neutrality. When the war became general, and the application was renewed, she professed that troops could not be spared with safety to her own dominions, which were in danger from the enmity of Prussia. And being again urged after the alliance between England and Prussia was concluded, she declared in plain terms, that, being abandoned by England, she was reduced to the necessity of securing herself by an alliance with France. As to the provinces of the Belgic union, they had scarcely recovered from the terrors of the former war; the public finances were exhausted, and the people in general extremely averse to engage in hostilities. The court of Versailles, moreover, by a counter-memorial, declared, that, "should the States grant the succors in question, the king of France would consider their compliance as an act of hostility against himself."

BOOK XI. The application of the English court, therefore,
1755. being perceived, from the operation of these causes, useless and unavailing, colonel Yorke, the English ambassador, was directed to inform their high mightinesses, that the king of England would not insist on the requisition; and the States expressed, in grateful terms, their acknowledgements to his Britannic majesty for thus generously relieving them from their embarrassment.

Domestic
affairs.

The parliament of England assembled in November 1755; and, in the opening speech, his majesty informed the two houses "that he had adopted what appeared to him the most proper and effectual measures for the protection of the national possessions in America, no reasonable terms of accommodation having been proposed by France; and also to disappoint such designs as, from various appearances and preparations, there was ground to believe had been formed against his kingdoms and dominions; that he had greatly augmented his forces by land and sea; and that he had concluded treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, copies of which should be laid before them." In the address moved in both houses, in answer to this speech, were the following words: "That they looked upon themselves as obliged by the strongest ties of duty, gratitude, and honor, to

stand by and support his majesty in all such wise and necessary measures and engagements, as his majesty might have taken in vindication of the rights of his crown, or to defeat any attempts which might be made by France in resentment for such measures, and to assist his majesty in disappointing or repelling all such enterprises as might be formed not only against his kingdoms, but also against any other of his dominions *though not belonging to the crown of Great Britain*, in case the king should be attacked on account of the part which his majesty had taken for maintaining the essential interests of his kingdoms." The declaration contained in this clause met with a most vehement and formidable opposition in the house of commons, not from the powerless party usually voting in opposition, but from Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, the most popular members of the present administration, and a very considerable number of other gentlemen possessing posts under the government. Mr. Pitt declared "the whole system and scheme of politics now adopted to be flagrantly absurd and desperate. It was no other than to gather and combine the powers of the continent into an alliance of magnitude sufficient to withstand the efforts of France and her adherents against the electorate of Hanover, at the single expense of Great

BOOK XI.

1755.

Opposition
of Mr. Pitt
and Mr.
Legge to
the mea-
sures of the
court.

BOOK XI. Britain. The three last wars with France had
1755. cost Britain above one hundred and twenty millions of money; the present exhibits a prospect of an effusion of treasure still more enormous; and, when we consider that such immense issues of money are to be supplied by new loans, heaped upon a debt of eighty millions, who will answer for the consequence, or venture to ensure us from a national bankruptcy? Mr. Pitt contended, that a naval war we could and ought to support, but a continental war, upon this system, we could not. We have suffered ourselves to be deceived by names and sounds; the general cause, the balance of power, the liberty of Europe; and have exhausted our wealth without any rational object. Should Hanover be actually attacked on account of her connexion with England, he acknowledged that we ought not to make peace without procuring for its inhabitants ample satisfaction and indemnity. But the idea of defending Hanover by an army of mercenaries he ridiculed as preposterous and impracticable. This system, he said, would, in a few years, cost us more money than the fee-simple of the electorate was worth; for it was a place so inconsiderable, that its name was scarcely to be found in the map. He ardently wished to break those fetters which

chained us, like Prometheus, to that barren rock." The clause was, however, carried on a division; and the king, in his reply to the address, thanked the two houses in the strongest terms for this signal proof of their affection to his person and regard for his honor. This transaction was followed by the immediate dismissal of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge from their respective employments.

BOOK XI.
1755.

Mr. Pitt &
Mr. Legge
dismissed
from their
employ-
ments.

It must be remarked, that, three days before the meeting of parliament, sir Thomas Robinson, secretary of state, from an honest and sincere consciousness of his own incapacity to conduct the business of government in the house of commons, had resigned the seals, which were directly transferred to Mr. Fox, secretary at war, who unquestionably, in respect of political ability, had at this time no rival in the house of commons, Mr. Pitt only excepted. Though engaged for several years past in the support of the same administration, they were actuated by a very visible jealousy on almost all occasions. And it was observed, that they agreed in nothing so well as in those sentiments of contempt for the late minister, which they were at little pains to conceal. It may easily be supposed, therefore, that Mr. Pitt, who could endure no superior, was very little delighted with the advancement of his

BOOK XI. competitor, who seemed as firmly resolved to
1755. admit no equal: and Mr. Legge entering entirely into the views of Mr. Pitt, it was imagined that the new minister would not long be able to maintain his ground against an opposition strengthened by so powerful a secession, founded on professions so popular and patriotic. Mr. Fox, however, supported by the favor of the king, the patronage of the duke of Cumberland, and the undivided interest of the Pelhams, was able to secure a triumphant majority: and the treaties with Russia and Hesse-Cassel, though strongly and obstinately opposed, were ratified in a house consisting of four hundred and forty-eight members, by three hundred and twenty against one hundred and twenty-eight. This great majority could not, however, disguise the impolicy and imbecility of the conduct of the premier, who, perplexed by all the fears and jealousies incident to a weak yet aspiring mind, had neither dared, at the decease of Mr. Pelham, to enter into a confidential connexion with Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, the only men in the house of commons by whom he could be effectually supported, nor entirely to break with them. On his assuming, therefore, the direction of the treasury, the seals of his department as secretary were indeed offered to Mr. Fox, but in a mode and under condi-

tions which Mr. Fox thought too degrading to accept — Mr. Pitt being, at the same time, amused with artificial professions and assurances of regard *signifying nothing*. On the resignation of sir Thomas Robinson, whose utter inability to elevate himself into the rank of a rival to the duke was his grand recommendation to the high office he held, the seals were given to Mr. Fox on his own terms, and his grace was reduced to the necessity of *soliciting* a favor, when he had it in his power to have *conferred* one *.

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1755.

* In an official conference between the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Pitt, his grace mentioning the American expedition on the Ohio, Mr. Pitt said, “Your grace knows that I have no capacity for these things; and I do therefore desire to be informed about them.” In the summer of 1755, changes being in contemplation, advances were made to Mr. Pitt; and the lord chancellor, on the part of the duke of Newcastle, told him, “that although the king had taken disagreeable prejudices, and was very fond of lord Holderness and sir Thomas Robinson; in case any accident should take place, if he would assist them cordially, it might perhaps happen, that they might procure the seals for him, *which he so much desired*.” Mr. Pitt, repeating the last words of the chancellor, asked, “Of whom?” He did not remember he had ever applied to his lordship for them; he was sure he never had to the duke of Newcastle; and he assured the chancellor, that, if they could prevail upon his majesty to give them to him under present circumstances, all the use he would make of them would be to lay them at his majesty’s feet. If he asked for any favor, it would be that they should inform his

BOOK XI.

1755.

Earthquake
at Lisbon.

In the midst of these political contentions, intelligence arrived of a disaster which excited the most vivid emotions of grief and compassion among all ranks and orders of persons throughout the nation. This was no other than the almost total destruction of the city of Lisbon by a tremendous earthquake, on the first of November (1755). The two principal shocks, which were not of the *horizontal* but *vorticose* species, continued near a quarter of an hour, and they were immediately followed by a most extraordinary rise and inundation of the Tagus.

majesty better. To enable him, or any one else, to conduct the business of the nation in the house of commons, they must give him proper distinction and powers. He said the duke's system would not do, and, while he had life and breath to utter, he would oppose it. There must be men of efficiency and authority in the house, who should have access to the crown; habitual, frequent, familiar access, that they might be able to speak and act with effect, to do themselves and their friends justice, and not be the victims of a WHISPER."—*Lord Melcombe.*

Some years previous to this period, on occasion of a petition presented to the house of commons, relative to a contested election for the borough of Seaford, in which the duke of Newcastle had too grossly and publicly interfered, Mr. Potter, son of archbishop Potter, the successor of Dr. Wake in the metropolitan see of Canterbury, a young man whose talents and accomplishments would have rendered him, could he have relinquished the monstrous ambition "to shine a TULLY and a WILMOT too," the ornament of his country—

A vast number of churches, monasteries, and other public buildings, and many thousand private houses, were, in the space of a few minutes, thrown down—the earth heaving, rocking, and in many parts rending asunder, with incredible noise and violence—vast volumes of mingled smoke and flame issuing from the apertures. And this superb city, after the final cessation of the concussions, presented to the view of the astonished spectator only a heap of ruins. The royal family were compelled to leave the palace with precipitation, and to retire into the neighbourhood in the debate which arose, “that if ever the annals of those times were delivered down to posterity by a faithful historian, he would have a new portrait to draw—of a minister the most incapable though the most ambitious, the weakest though the most insolent, the most pusillanimous though the most presumptuous.” Mr. Pelham, upon this, rose to call to order, saying, “that, though no person had been as yet actually named, this character must be intended for somebody; and cautioning this youthful speaker, if he thought proper to mention any name, to be prepared to prove what he should assert.” Mr. Potter replied, “that he was happy to find he had as yet been guilty of no irregularity, and that even the apprehension of it was groundless; for it was not within his intention to mention any individual. He did not think himself so ill a painter as to make it necessary for him to write the names of those to whom his portraits belonged.” It would, however, be injustice not to allow the duke of Newcastle the merit of disinterestedness as to the emoluments of office, and of zeal for the general interests of his country.

BOOK XI. bouring fields for safety; and ten thousand of
1755. the inhabitants, as it was computed, were killed by the fall of the buildings, or swallowed up in the chasms formed by the numerous and horrid dispartings of the earth. A message from the throne informed the two houses of this dreadful calamity; and, by an act of generosity and humanity which conferred the highest honor on the parliament and nation, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds was instantly and unanimously voted for the use of the distressed inhabitants of that metropolis; and supplies to this amount in corn, flour, rice, and other necessaries, were shipped without delay for Portugal, and proved a most welcome and seasonable relief. And his most faithful majesty expressed on this occasion, in terms of the warmest emotion, his grateful acknowledgements to the British crown and nation. Amidst the millions and millions expended for the purposes of devastation and destruction, a vote of this description seems as a paradise blooming in the wild.

1756. Early in the year 1756, Mr. Fox, the new minister, received a letter from M. Rouillé, secretary of state for foreign affairs in France, expostulating, in the name of his sovereign, "upon the hostile instructions given by the king of England to general Braddock and admiral Boscawen, in direct contradiction to the

amicable professions of the British court. He BOOK XI.
1756. complained of the insult offered to the French flag in the capture of two ships of war, and of the depredations on the French commerce, without any previous declaration of war, in contempt of the law of nations. He demanded therefore, in the name of the king his master, full and entire satisfaction for this atrocious violation of the dignity of his crown, as well as a complete reparation for the injuries sustained by his people." To this peremptory requisition Mr. Fox replied, with firmness and spirit, "that the king of England would willingly consent to an equitable accommodation of differences, but would not comply with the demand of restitution as a preliminary condition; his Britannic majesty having taken no steps but such as the hostilities previously committed by the French, and a regard to his own honor and the rights of his crown and people, rendered just and indispensable."

War being now considered on both sides as virtually, though not actually, declared, the French court issued an order to seize all British vessels in the French harbours, and began with great assiduity to repair the fortifications of Dunkirk. The naval preparations at Brest England
menaced
with an
invasion. were prosecuted with unremitting diligence; a vast number of transports were collected in

BOOK XI.

1756.

the different ports in the Channel; and numerous bodies of land forces were seen moving from all parts towards the coasts of Normandy, Picardy, and Bretagne. About the close of March the king sent a message to parliament, stating, "that he had received repeated and authentic advices that a design was actually formed by the French court for the invasion of Great Britain; that he had taken the proper precautions for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence; that, in order further to strengthen himself, he had made a requisition of the Hessian troops which the landgrave had by the late treaty agreed to furnish." An address was immediately presented, thanking his majesty in warm terms for this seasonable and prudent requisition. And, in a few days, Mr. Fox, encouraged by the prevailing unanimity of the house, moved a second address, "beseeching his majesty, that, for the more effectual defence of his kingdoms, and for the better security of the religion and liberties of his subjects, he would be graciously pleased to order twelve battalions of his electoral troops to be forthwith embarked for England." This also was carried by a very great majority; and in the course of the ensuing month these troops actually arrived.

Ingloriously
ly defended
by troops
from Han-
over.

Such was the consternation excited through-

out the kingdom by the idea of an invasion, that these measures of the minister were received with great and general applause; though it appeared, in the view of Europe at large, not less unaccountable than disgraceful that England should, at the commencement of a foreign war, deem herself unequal to provide for her own internal safety; and should have recourse to the aid of foreign mercenaries for the protection of her laws and liberties, when none of the natural means of defence were wanting, when her naval force was confessedly far superior to that of the enemy, and her armies were not engaged, as formerly, in fighting Quixottic battles on the continent*.

BOOK XI.
1756.

At the close of the session (May 27) the speaker, Mr. Onslow, on presenting the money bills for the royal assent, addressed the king in a speech replete with sentiments so just and constitutional, expressed in language so bold

Patriotic
address of
Mr. Onslow
to the king.

* Les François annoncèrent avec ostentation qu'ils se préparoient à faire de leur côté une descente en Angleterre. Ils répandirent des troupes le long des côtes de la Bretagne et de la Normandie: ils firent construire des bateaux plats pour transporter ces troupes, et assemblèrent quelques vaisseaux à Brest. Ces démonstrations épouvantèrent les Anglois; il y eut des momens où cette nation, qui passe pour si sage, se crut perdue. Le roi George, afin de la rassurer, eut recours à des troupes Hanovriennes et Hessoises.—*Œuvres de Frederic II.* tome ii.

BOOK XI. and animated, as to merit the most distinguish-
1756. ed regard. After specifying the extent, and
remarking the liberality, of the grants, exceeding those of any former period, he declared, “that the commons of England hoped the sword, so bravely drawn and so effectually supported, would be intrusted only in capable and honest hands; and that the naval strength of Great Britain will do service as much greater as it is exalted higher than ever before. His majesty’s faithful commons apprehended that the present critical juncture convinces that alliances on the continent, as they are unnatural, so they must ever be prejudicial to the true interest of England: that there is no gratitude to be expected from, no dependence to be placed on, such allies; who, supported as they have been by the blood and treasure of this kingdom, have taken the opportunity of the first prospect of present profit to break through every tie. Not discouraged, however, by the ingratitude of allies or the ambition of enemies, they have with pleasure beheld the sword drawn to vindicate the national honor and interest—proud to let all the world see that England is able to fight her own battles, and to stand by her own natural strength. Though ever attached to his majesty’s person, he declared, nevertheless, that there were circumstances ex-

isting at which nothing but their confidence in BOOK XI.
his majesty's justice, and love to his people, 1756.
could hinder them from being most seriously
alarmed. Subsidies to foreign princes, when
already burdened with a debt scarcely to be
borne, cannot but be severely felt—an army of
foreign troops, a thing *unprecedented, unheard-*
of, unknown, brought into England, cannot but
alarm. Still they had reliance upon his ma-
jesty, and hoped that their burdens might be
lightened, their fears removed, as soon as pos-
sible; and, in the mean time, that the sword of
these *foreigners* should not be intrusted *a mo-*
ment out of his own hand to any other person
whatsoever." The unanimous approval of the
principles and sentiments inculcated in this
spirited address reflects certainly great honor
on the house; and it is much to be regretted
that they should ever have been induced, *in*
practice, to deviate from them. This speech,
however, discovers symptoms of democratic
resolution, which, had the liberties of the coun-
try been openly invaded, would have displayed
itself in a manner fatal to ministers, terrible to
kings!

Whether the French ever seriously meditated
a descent upon the English coast, remains,
after all, extremely doubtful: and it appears
highly probable that the preparations which

BOOK XI. 1756. occasioned this universal alarm were designed chiefly, or solely, as a veil to disguise their real design of an attack upon the island of Minorca. And, while the attention of the English ministry and nation was superfluously occupied with the armaments of Brest and Dunkirk, it seemed entirely to escape their notice that a formidable fleet was at the very same time equipping at Toulon; till, at length, its destination becoming notorious, a squadron very incompetent to the purposes of the expedition was detached to the Mediterranean, under admiral Byng, an officer of whom the public knew little more than that he was the son of the gallant and heroic viscount Torrington. This armament, consisting of ten ships of the line, afterwards joined by two or three others, sailed from Spithead April 7, 1756; and on the 2d of May the admiral arrived at Gibraltar, where he was informed that the French fleet, under M. de la Galissoniere, consisting of thirteen ships of the line, and transports, on board of which were embarked fifteen thousand land forces, had sailed from Toulon on the 10th of April, with a view to a descent on the island of Minorca, and were now actually engaged in the siege of Fort St. Philip. On this intelligence the admiral transmitted dispatches to England, written in a style

Attack on
Minorca.

Admiral
Byng dis-
patched to
its relief.

of great apparent dejection, "lamenting that he was not sent out in time to prevent the landing of the French; complaining of the bad condition of the ships, and of the total deficiency which he found at Gibraltar of all the necessary requisites for careening and refitting. He signified his opinion of the impracticability of throwing any supply of troops into the fortress, and of the impolicy of attempting it if feasible, as the siege could not be raised without the co-operation of a land force, and any reinforcement of men would consequently only increase the number of prisoners which must ultimately fall into the hands of the enemy*."

* Mr. Horace Walpole, in a letter to archbishop Herring, dated June 19, 1756, says, "I have indeed been an old servant to the crown. It is now fifty years since I was at Gibraltar, a witness to the incredible alacrity and expedition of that great man lord Torrington, then sir George Byng, to sail for the relief of Barcelona. Would to God the son had followed the father's example with regard to Port Mahon!" *Memoirs of Lord Walpole*, p. 457.—Though lost in the importance of the events which arose in rapid succession at the present period, it is a matter of curious observation that this veteran in politics had, in a letter dated September 22, 1755, most earnestly exhorted the lord chancellor Hardwicke, "if it was not too late, to oppose the conclusion of a subsidiary treaty for troops with the court of Russia, as what would be vastly expensive, and cannot in any sense be of service or security to Great Britain." Yet on coming to town, previous to the meeting of parliament, he was prevailed upon by the mi-

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This extraordinary letter being considered by the ministry as a virtual accusation of their negligence or incapacity, and as plainly ominous of the loss of the place, they determined to convince the admiral that such language was not to be held with impunity.

Engage-
ment be-
tween Byng
and Galis-
soniere.

On approaching Minorca (May 18), the admiral descried the British colors still flying at the castle of St. Philip: and at the same time the French fleet appearing to the south-east, he formed the line of battle; and about two o'clock threw out signals to bear away two points from the wind and engage. Admiral West, who commanded the van division, perceiving the inconsistency of the two orders, chose to comply with the last, and bore away with his division seven points from the wind, ministers not only to support the treaty himself in the house of commons, but to use his influence with the duke of Devonshire, to whom he was allied by the marriage of his son with lady Rachel Cavendish the duke's daughter, for the same purpose. Candor itself will scarcely think it invidious to remark, that four days only subsequent to the termination of the session he was created baron Walpole of Wollerton. He did not, however, long enjoy his new honors; dying on the fifth of February ensuing, A. D. 1757, at the advanced age of seventy-eight. Though the political merits and services of LORD WALPOLE undoubtedly compensate, and upon the whole much more than compensate, for his failings and defects, the partiality of a biographer only would venture to exhibit him as a model of political virtue.

as absolutely necessary to bring the enemy to a close and regular engagement. Finding himself, however, not sustained by his commander, he could not pursue the advantage he had gained without imminent danger of having his communication with the remainder of the fleet entirely cut off. When exhorted by his captain to bear down upon the enemy, in order to support the ships of the van, admiral Byng coolly replied, that it was his determination to keep the line of battle entire; and that he would avoid the error of admiral Matthews, who, in his engagement with the combined fleets of France and Spain off Toulon, had broke the line by his precipitation, and had exposed himself by his rashness to a fire which he could not sustain. Under color, therefore, of preserving the line of battle entire, in order to fight with the more advantage, it could scarcely be affirmed that he fought at all—the distance at which he engaged being so great that he received only some few shots in his hull: and not a single man was killed or wounded on board the admiral's own ship, a noble second-rate of ninety guns. M. de la Galissoniere was well pleased to perceive the British commander so little in earnest; and, having no urgent reasons on his part to wish for a continuance of the fight, he bore away

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1756.

Admiral
Byng's in-
decision
and mis-
conduct.

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1756.

under an easy sail towards evening: and, though the British admiral made the signal for chasing, it so happened that the French were not overtaken, and next morning they were entirely out of sight.

On inquiry into the condition of the fleet after this engagement, it was found that three of the principal ships were so much damaged in their masts that they could not keep the sea with safety; that about two hundred men were killed and wounded in the engagement, and many others disabled by sickness. The admiral represented to a council of war held on the occasion, that his squadron was much inferior to the enemy in weight of metal and number of men; and that they had also the advantage of sending their sick and wounded to Minorca, from whence they received continual supplies and reinforcements: that, in his opinion, it was impracticable to relieve the castle of St. Philip; and that they ought, therefore, to make the best of their way back to Gibraltar, to refit and wait for further orders from England. The despondency of a commander is ever contagious: and, though no effort whatever had been made to accomplish the object of their destination, the council concurred unanimously in these sentiments; and the fleet immediately set sail for Gibraltar,—

the French returning to their former station off Mahon. BOOK XI.

1756.

When the official dispatches of the admiral arrived in England, the ministry, fully prepared for intelligence of this nature, and presuming that the sequel of the history would correspond with the prelude, commissioned, without delay, admirals Hawke and Saunders to take the command in the Mediterranean; and at the same time orders were given to send home admiral Byng in arrest; and on his arrival in England he was committed close prisoner to Greenwich Hospital.

Notwithstanding that the garrison of St. Philip had reason to consider themselves as abandoned to their fate, a very gallant defence was made by general Blakeney, the governor, from the middle of April to the beginning of July; when, no intelligence being received from England, and no prospect of relief discernible, the works and even the body of the castle being much shattered, the embrasures and parapets demolished, many cannon dismounted, and a lodgement actually made by the enemy on one of the principal redoubts—the garrison also being exhausted with hard and incessant duty—it was resolved to beat the *chamade*; and a very favorable capitulation was granted by the duc de Richelieu, the French comman-

Minorca
surrenders.

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1756.

der,—the garrison being permitted to march out with all the honors of war, and with the liberty of a free and unmolested conveyance to Gibraltar. In a few days after the surrender of the island, admiral Hawke appeared in view, with a fleet much superior to that of the French; but M. de la Galissoniere had seasonably retired: and the English admiral seeing the French colors flying on the castle of St. Philip, this gallant officer found every effort precluded: and indeed, had he arrived previous to the surrender, there was little probability of his being able, even by an absolute defeat of the French squadron, to effect its relief.

This conquest was celebrated in France with great triumph and rejoicings; while, in England, it produced a degree of depression much more than proportionate to the real magnitude and importance of the loss sustained. This depression was accompanied with a prevailing emotion of resentment, and even of rage, against the unfortunate admiral Byng, which could scarcely have been exceeded had he, by his criminal misconduct, sacrificed half the navy of Great Britain. In the ensuing session of parliament, an inquiry was instituted in the house of commons into the causes of the loss of the island of Minorca; and the house having addressed his majesty for copies of all letters

and instructions relative to this subject, such a BOOK XL
prodigious mass of papers was produced as 1756.
seemed rather calculated to overwhelm and
stifle, than to explain and elucidate, the object
of this investigation*.

* It appears, from the papers laid before parliament, that various concurring advices were received by government of the formidable armaments preparing at Toulon. Commodore Edgecumbe wrote from Leghorn, early in February, that the French fleet at Toulon was then fitting out in earnest, and that it was thought to be intended to surprise Minorca. Sir Benjamin Keene, nearly at the same time, declared, in a letter to Mr. Fox, the apprehensions he felt of an approaching attack upon Minorca; being, says he, forced to take this idea from repeated accounts of numbers of troops assembled at Marseilles and on the coasts of the Mediterranean, to be easily transported, in small vessels, under the convoy of twelve capital ships ready to sail from Toulon. Mr. Villettes, on the second of February, wrote from Berne, that orders had been published every where by sound of trumpet for sailors to repair to Toulon to man the ships ready for sea. Lord Bristol, from Turin, declares positively to lord Holderness, that the Toulon armament, consisting of twelve ships of the line, would be ready for sea by the beginning of April, and was destined for Minorca. And general Blakeney himself, in a letter to Mr. Fox dated February 10, 1756, thus expresses his feelings: "I cannot be too early in acquainting you, sir, that, by different informations from France and Spain, there is great reason to believe the French intend very shortly to make an attack upon this island. It is publicly talked of at Marseilles and Barcelona, and founded upon an order for 25,000 men to march immediately to the sea-coast of Provence; large boats built at Toulon to contain 60 men each,

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1756.

After a loose and cursory examination of these *documents*, which it would have been the business of a session to methodise and digest, the house resolved, “1. That, from the intelligence repeatedly received by his majesty’s ministers, there was just reason to believe that an invasion of Great Britain or Ireland was actually intended by the French king; and, 2. That no greater number of ships of war could, with safety to his majesty’s dominions and the interest of his subjects, be sent to the Mediterranean than were actually sent thither under the command of admiral Byng.”

These resolutions were evidently dictated by the spirit of resentment or prejudice, and seemed constructed solely for the exculpation of the ministers: though it still appeared absolutely incomprehensible to all impartial censors, that, with more than one hundred and fifty ships of war in commission, so small a force only could be spared for so great a service. It is certain that Mr. Fox was desirous to have detached a strong squadron to the Mediterranean the first week in March, but could not prevail over the fears of the duke of Newcastle, and the presumption of lord Anson, who assured and one twenty-four-pounder; twelve sail of the line absolutely ready to put to sea in this month; and five frigates ready victualled, and said to be under sailing orders.”

him that Byng's squadron would beat any thing BOOK XI.
 that the French had or could have in the Me- 1756.
 diterranean.

After the loss of the island, the duke of Newcastle eagerly affirmed to Mr. Fox, "that no blame could rest, or be thought to rest, upon him; that the sea was not his province; and that the nation and the house of commons were well satisfied with his conduct." Mr. Fox replied, that "those who had the chief direction in an administration would bear the greatest share of the blame; and that those people deceived him who told him it was otherwise *now*. He had, indeed, defended his grace in the house of commons in every thing where he could defend him, but in one thing he never could, which was, in his not believing it must be war, and in not arming sooner *."

The clamors of the people for justice still continuing, the trial of admiral Byng commenced December 28, 1756, before a court-martial held on board the ship St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth. And, after a long investigation of evidence, the court determined that the admiral, during the engagement on the 20th of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, seize, and destroy the ships of the

Admiral
Byng's trial
and execu-
tion.

* Lord Melcombe,

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French king; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of the castle of St. Philip—they, therefore, unanimously agreed, “that he fell under the letter of the twelfth article of the naval code, which, for this offence, positively prescribes *death*, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court. But, believing his misconduct to arise neither from cowardice nor disaffection, they earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy.” The admiral heard his doom pronounced without the least alteration of countenance or feature; and, with a low obeisance to the court, retired in dignified silence. Great interest was made from various quarters to obtain a remission of the sentence, but without effect; and a warrant was issued by the lords of the admiralty for the execution of the admiral on the fourteenth of March 1757. During this interval he remained on board the *Monarque* in custody of the marshal of the admiralty, and was at no time perceived to lose his composure or cheerfulness. About noon on the day appointed, the admiral, having taken the last farewell of his friends, advanced with a firm step and serene aspect from the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where a guard of marines awaited to execute the sentence; and kneeling, without any pause or delay, on a cushion provided for

the purpose, he tied with his own hands a white handkerchief over his eyes, and immediately dropped another as a signal for the executioners, and five balls instantly passed through his body—the whole of this striking scene, from his leaving the cabin, being over, and the admiral deposited on his bier, in the space of about three minutes.

On a general review of this melancholy catastrophe, and of the causes by which it was produced, the fate of admiral Byng must be pronounced beyond all example severe and rigorous. Destined to execute a commission hopeless and impracticable, or at least not to be effected without the most desperate efforts of courage, he suffered his mind to be too strongly impressed with the difficulties of his situation; and though possessed, probably, of a degree of calm resolution which would have secured his character from imputation upon occasions which required no extraordinary exertion, he was doubtless totally and constitutionally incapable of that heroic and ardent enthusiasm which kindles at the view of danger, which is inflamed with the thirst of glory, and which, if it cannot command success, is at least ambitious to convince the world that it has left nothing unessayed in order to deserve it. Firmly persuaded that the object of his enterprise was

BOOK XI. 1756. unattainable, this officer appears to have sunk under his accumulated embarrassments, and appeared to his friends perhaps, on a retrospective view of this transaction, to fall as much below the usual level of his character, as it was necessary, in such circumstances, to rise above it. The fortitude of his conduct during the trial, and previous to the execution, sufficiently rescues his memory from the vile and indelible taint of cowardice: and, in a paper which he delivered immediately before his death to the marshal of the admiralty, he declares the satisfaction he felt in the consciousness of having faithfully discharged his duty to the utmost of his judgement and ability; and he styles himself, not without some appearance of reason, “a victim destined to divert the indignation and resentment of an injured and deluded people.”

Notwithstanding the sacrifice of this victim, the nation exhibited symptoms of the highest dissatisfaction at the conduct of the administration under whose guidance and government nothing but disgraces and disasters had happened. The prospect of a German war for the protection of Hanover was odious to the majority of the people; the defeat of Braddock, and the subsequent losses in America, were the subject of equal astonishment and indignation; and

the recent capture of Minorca threw the kingdom into a paroxysm of rage, as the apprehension of an invasion had before done into that of terror. And though the ministry, in calling in the assistance of the Hessian and Hanoverian auxiliaries, had acted with the general approbation, and even applause, their conduct, now the danger had passed over, was stigmatised as the effect of a ridiculous and reproachful timidity, if not rather of absolute treachery. It was suggested that the kingdom had been left purposely unprovided, and that the natives of South Britain had been formerly subdued by auxiliaries of the same country, hired, like these, for their defence and protection. And the public suspicion and hatred of these foreign mercenaries rose to such a height, that the modest, orderly, and inoffensive behaviour only, by which they were distinguished, could, we are assured, have secured them from acts of outrage *.

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* Smollet's Continuation, vol. iii. p. 455.

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Smollet's Continuation, vol. iii. p. 422.

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Capture of Pondicherri. War in Germany—King of Prussia takes Possession of Dresden. Austrians defeated at Prague. King of Prussia defeated by M. Daun at Kolin. King of Prussia defeats the French at Rosbach—and the Austrians at Lissa. The Troops disbanded at Cloister-Seven resume their Arms. Successes of Prince Ferdinand. King of Prussia defeated by M. Daun at Hochkirchen. French defeated by Prince Ferdinand at Minden. Disgraceful Conduct of Lord George Sackville. King of Prussia defeated by the Russians at Cunersdorf. King of Prussia defeats the Austrians at Lignitz. Berlin surrenders to the Austrians and Russians. King of Prussia defeats the Austrians at Torgau. Death of Elizabeth Empress of Russia. Death of Peter III. Emperor of Russia. Treaty of Hubertsburg. Establishment of a National Militia. Proceedings in the Diet of the Empire. Death of the Pope Benedict XIV. Attempt on the Life of the King of France—and on the King of Portugal. Death of Ferdinand II. King of Spain. Parliamentary Qualification Act. Lord George Sackville degraded by Sentence of a Court-Martial. Death of the King—His Character. State of Literature and the Arts during the Reign of George II.

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1756.

War declared between Great Britain and France.

WAR had been declared in form by Great Britain against France in May 1756, and in the following month by France against Great Britain: and much pains were taken, in the manifesto published by the French king, to contrast the moderation and equity of the court of Versailles with the intemperate violence of the court of London, and particularly stigmatising the seizures of the French ships of war and commerce, before a declaration of war, as pi-

racy and perfidy. And it must be acknowledged, that no very solid or satisfactory reason has been assigned for delaying the declaration on the part of England, when hostilities were not only resolved upon but actually commenced.

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The duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, now at the head of the administration, discordant in their sentiments and dis-spirited by ill success, finding the tide of popularity and opinion set strongly against them, dreaded with reason the approaching meeting of parliament, and determined, by a timely resignation, to avert the disgrace and danger attending a compulsive dismissal. In November 1756, Mr. Pitt was appointed principal secretary of state; Mr. Legge reinstated in his post of chancellor of the exchequer, which had been occupied during his secession by sir George, afterwards lord, Lyttelton; and the duke of Devonshire, late marquis of Harlington, was nominated to the high office of first lord commissioner of the treasury *. On the second of December the session was opened by a very animated speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed his confidence “ that the union, fortitude, and

Ferment in the nation, Duke of Newcastle & Mr. Fox resign.

Mr. Pitt & Mr. Legge reinstated,

* The good old duke of Devonshire, that true friend to the peace, the liberty, and the prosperity of his country, died in the month of December 1755.

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affection of his people would, under the guidance of the Divine Providence, enable him to surmount every difficulty, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared, that the recent losses in America demanded resolutions of vigor and dispatch; and that he had nothing so much at heart as to remove all grounds of dissatisfaction from his people: for this end, he had remanded the foreign troops which had been brought hither at the desire of parliament; and recommended the framing of a national militia, relying with pleasure on the spirit and zeal of his people in defence of his person and realm. He took notice of the unnatural union of counsels abroad, threatening the subversion of the empire, and of the *protestant interest* on the continent; concluding with professions of his unwearied care and unceasing endeavours to promote the glory and happiness of his people.

Soon after the commencement of the session, Mr. Pitt, now regarded as first minister, delivered to the house a message from the king, importing, “that, as the formidable preparations and vindictive designs of France were evidently bent against his majesty’s electoral dominions, and the territories of his *good ally* the king of Prussia, his majesty confided in the

zeal and affection of his faithful commons to as-
sist him in forming and maintaining an army of
observation for the just and necessary defence
of the same, and to enable him to fulfil his en-
gagements with his Prussian majesty, for the
security of the empire, and the support of their
common interests.”

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Notwithstanding the great popularity of the present administration, sustained by the superior talents and general integrity of the ministers, there were not wanting those in the house of commons who forcibly urged the contrast between this recommendation, and the former eloquent reasonings and invectives of the minister against the whole fatal system of continental connexion; the inexpressible folly and madness of which appeared in the most striking point of view at the present crisis, when, after all the millions expended, and the legions sacrificed to the preservation of a chimerical balance of power, with which the safety of England was supposed, or pretended, to be connected, we were left destitute of an ally, excepting a prince so embarrassed in his own affairs, that, far from being able to grant assistance to us, he would certainly need to be supported by us. England, they asserted, was under no obligation, either of interest or duty, to exhaust her treasure and her blood in the de-

BOOK XII. 1756. fence of Hanover. That electorate was sufficiently secured in common with the other electorates, principalities, and co-estates, of the Germanic body, by the constitutions of the empire. It was not to be imagined, that the princes of the empire, or even that Austria itself, notwithstanding her recent and forced alliance with France, would suffer so formidable a power to acquire a permanent establishment in Germany; that, if any reluctance appeared to engage in the defence of a cause in which they had an immediate and common interest, it arose entirely from the firmness of their persuasion, that the interposition of England would render all interference on their part superfluous. It was boldly affirmed, that the whole of the public debt contracted since the accession of the house of Hanover was incurred in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interests of these kingdoms; and that if Hanover must at all events become the object of the solicitude of Great Britain, it would be infinitely better that France should be allowed to acquire and retain peaceable possession of the electorate during the continuance of the war, and to indemnify the inhabitants for the losses and sufferings which they might incur at the conclusion of it, than to maintain vast armies at an immense expense for its defence

and security, of which, after all, it remained BOOK XII.
 extremely problematic whether we were equal 1756.
 to the accomplishment.

The message, nevertheless, was received by the house with loyal approbation, and the supplies granted to the utmost extent demanded by the minister. It was, however, strongly suspected, that the measure thus coldly recommended, or rather stated to the house, had been previously objected against in the cabinet; and, in a short time, it could no longer be concealed that the new administration was agitated by a great internal convulsion; and that Convulsion in the ministry. the favorite project of the king for strengthening the army in Germany with large reinforcements of troops from England was not assented to by the patriot ministers Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge. His majesty, irritated by the pertinacity of their opposition, and urged by the Mr. Pitt & Mr. Legge a second time dismissed. duke of Cumberland, who refused to take upon him the command of the army while Mr. Pitt remained in power, at length resolved upon an effort to relieve himself from this unwelcome and imperious control; and in April 1757, Mr. 1757. Pitt and Mr. Legge were suddenly dismissed from their offices; the chancellorship of the exchequer being consigned, *pro tempore*, to the chief justice of England. And Mr. Fox, again destined to take the lead in affairs, and

BOOK XII. invested with full and unlimited powers, had
 1757. made proposals to his former coadjutor, the
 duke of Newcastle, to resume his station at the
 head of the treasury. But his grace, doubting
 the stability of the new arrangement, thought
 it expedient to demur; and, in the mean time,
 commenced a secret negotiation with the ex-
 ministers, and, after an interregnum of some
 weeks agitated by the violence of political con-
 flict and cabal, joined them openly with all his
 powerful connexions.

Political
 anarchy.

The alarm of the nation at the dismissal of
 Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge is scarcely conceivable.
 Numberless addresses from all parts were pre-
 sented to his majesty, beseeching him to rein-
 state these ministers in their employments.
 The principal cities and corporations in the
 kingdom presented them with the freedom of
 their respective guilds in golden boxes. Party
 spirit seemed to be extinguished; for all voices,
 without one dissonant murmur, were now united
 in their praise. Mr. Fox, perceiving it impos-
 sible to stem the torrent, wisely counselled the
 monarch to yield, without resistance, to the
 wishes of the people. And, in June, Mr. Pitt
 resumed the seals of secretary of state; Mr.
 Legge and the duke of Newcastle their former
 stations at the board of treasury; lord Anson
 was placed at the head of the admiralty; sir

Mr. Pitt &
 Mr. Legge a
 second time
 restored.

Robert Henley appointed keeper of the great seal in the room of lord Hardwicke; and Mr. Fox himself, acceding to the new order of things, and renouncing his projects of ambition, was gratified with the lucrative office of paymaster-general of the army *.

* "Public matters," says lord Chesterfield in a letter to his friend Mr. Dayrolles, February 1757, "have been, and are still, too undecipherable for me to understand, consequently to relate. Fox, out of place, taking the lead in the house of commons; Pitt, secretary of state, declares that he is no minister, and has no ministerial influence. The duke of Newcastle and lord Hardwicke lie by and declare themselves for neither party.—April 1757: Our public situation is now, perhaps, more ridiculous and unaccountable than ever. Two posts which were once thought considerable ones, which used to be solicited by many, and wished for by more—I mean those of secretary of state and chancellor of the exchequer—have been proffered about to a degree of profusion, and yet refused. The late possessors of them were most imprudently turned out before the end of the session, and are thereby become not only the most, but perhaps the only two, popular men now in this kingdom.—July 1757: After many negotiations, breakings-off, and recommencements, things are at last fixed. About three weeks ago, Fox was in a manner declared minister, to the exclusion of the duke of Newcastle and Pitt, and the seals of the chancellorship of the exchequer were to have been given to him the next day. Upon this Holderness resigned; the duke of Rutland, and some others, declared their intentions of following his example, and many refused the places that were offered them by Fox as the first minister for those two or three days. Upon these discouragements, Fox went to the king, and told him, that it was impos-

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In consequence of this general coalition of parties, all opposition in parliament seemed annihilated; and Mr. Pitt, to whom the entire direction of the war was now entrusted, had free and full scope to exert his utmost ability in the service of his country. The events, however, which marked the commencement of his administration were by no means fortunate. A formidable armament, equipped with incredible diligence, sailed from the harbour of Portsmouth the beginning of September, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and a large body of land forces, under the command of sir Edward Hawke and sir John Mordaunt. When Mr. Pitt ordered the fleet to be equipped, and appointed the period for its being at the place of rendezvous, lord Anson said it was impossible to comply with the requisition: but Mr. Pitt, with great warmth, replied, "That it might be done; and, if the ships were not ready at the time specified, he should signify his neglect to the king, and *impeach* his lordship in the house of commons." The menace produced its effect; and, on the twenty-third of the same month, he was obliged to resign the command of the fleet. It was not possible for him, in such a situation, to undertake the management of affairs. The king hereupon, though very unwillingly, sent for the duke of Newcastle again; and at last, after a thousand difficulties, things are as you have seen in the papers."—*Lord Chesterfield's Miscellaneous Works.*

month, the fleet anchored off the river Charente with a view to attempt the reduction of the city of Rochefort. Many days passed in sounding the river, in reconnoitring the coasts, in removing the troops from the transports to the boats, and the boats to the transports; and in deliberations upon the intent and practicability of the instructions under which they were to act. At length it was concluded to *risk an attack* upon the isle of Aix, situated in the mouth of the Charente, and defended by a small fort and garrison; and this service, equal in importance to that of picking up shells on the shore, being performed, and the works demolished, a council of war was held, in which it was resolved, agreeably to that spirit of *quietism* by which it has been observed that councils of war are in general distinguished *, to return without delay to England.

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Unsuccessful attempt on Rochefort.

Great expectations having been entertained of the event of this expedition, the nation was proportionably disappointed and enraged at its failure: and the public censure was directed

* Lord Clive declared to the parliamentary committee of inquiry, instituted A. D. 1773, "that he never called a council of war but once, which was previous to his passing the Ganges on his famous expedition to Moorshedabad; and, if he had then followed the decision of the council, the company had been undone."

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chiefly, if not solely, against the general, it being admitted that the minister had left nothing undone to insure the success of it, and that the admiral had acted in no respect inconsistently with his high character for judgement and spirit. It was said that the inactivity and timidity of sir John Mordaunt were less pardonable than the rashness and presumption of general Braddock, who, if he failed to attain his object, had at least sustained the national reputation by his courage; and so high did the clamor arise, that it was thought necessary to institute a court-martial for the trial of this commander, by whom he was, to the amazement of the public, unanimously acquitted: and the sentence was universally contrasted with that of the former court, which had condemned an admiral to death for not doing his *utmost*; whereas a general was now acquitted, though it was universally acknowledged that he had done *nothing*.

Operations
in Ger-
many.

But the failure of the enterprise against Rochefort, however it might excite the chagrin of the public, was of little estimation or importance in the view of the court, when compared with the disasters which had befallen the army of observation in Germany. Early in the spring (1757) his royal highness the duke of Cumberland had embarked for Hanover, in

order to take upon him the command of the confederate troops, now, in consequence of the recent junction of the Prussians, amounting to about fifty thousand men. Mareschal d'Etrées, the French commander, an officer of great ability, advancing from the banks of the Rhine, the passage of which the king of Prussia in vain urged the duke to defend, the confederate army was compelled to retire beyond the Weser: and the French general, having passed this river also without opposition, attacked the duke in his camp at Hastenbeck, July 25; and, while the battle was yet doubtful, the English commander, from a defect, not of courage, but of military skill and judgement, is charged with giving orders for sounding a retreat. A redoubt in centre of the allied army having been carried by the French, it was instantly retaken, sword in hand, at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle and another of Hanoverian guards, by the hereditary prince of Brunswic, "who by this *coup d'essai* discovered," says the king of Prussia, "that nature had destined him for a hero." The duke being still pressed by the French army, retreated first to Nienburg, then to Verden, and at length to Stade. The mareschal d'Etrées, regarding with a watchful and penetrating eye the motions of the duke, when urged to em-

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1757.

Battle of
Hasten-
beck.

BOOK XII. brace a favorable moment of attack, replied
1757. that there was no occasion for fighting. And, in fact, his royal highness was quickly reduced, as the mareschal foresaw, to a most distressing dilemma. In front his further march was arrested by the German Ocean; on the right and left he was inclosed by the rivers Elbe and Weser; and the French having taken possession of the passes as the confederate army receded, the duke had, or deemed himself to have, no option remaining but to submit to terms of capitulation, which were signed, under the mediation of Denmark, in the month of September (1757), at Cloister-Seven, by which the electorate of Hanover was left in the hands of the French, now commanded by the duc de Richelieu; and the whole confederate army, amounting to about forty thousand Hessians, Hanoverians, and Brunswickers were dispersed into different and distant quarters of cantonment—the king of Prussia having previously withdrawn his troops, from the apprehension of this catastrophe. On his return to England, the duke of Cumberland being received with manifest tokens of the royal displeasure, resigned all his military employments in high disgust, and henceforth took no further public part in any civil or military transaction. With respect to the general merits of this famous

Duke of
Cumber-
land capi-
tulates with
his whole
army.

convention, although the duke of Cumberland was invested as commander in chief in full military powers, it might certainly well admit of question, whether, in stipulating "that the French should keep all the posts and countries of which they were in possession till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns," he did not exceed, on the largest construction, the proper bounds and limits of his commission. The personal courage of this prince was on many occasions conspicuous; but it argued a great deficiency of military prowess to submit, at the head of 40,000 veteran troops, to a capitulation so disgraceful. The court of London, in a manifesto subsequently published, affected to consider the convention in the light of a mere suspension of arms — a military regulation; to continue in force only till the issue of the negotiation then depending with the courts of Vienna and Versailles, respecting the neutrality of the electorate, could be ascertained. This, however, is unfortunately a sense which the words of the convention cannot by any latitude of interpretation be made to bear. But the force of the observation in the manifesto cannot well be controverted,—"that it is impossible to suppose the generals of the two armies had power to make a treaty by which, without the ratification of the sovereigns, the

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king's dominions should be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least appearance. It is a thing unheard-of to give the general of an army so extensive an authority." Such was the authority assumed and exercised, nevertheless, by the duke of Cumberland on this occasion. The inglorious convention of Cloister-Seven seemed as it were the crisis of the war; and England was now reduced to that extreme point of depression from which she was destined, by a wonderful change of fortune, to attain to a height of elevation unknown to the most brilliant æras of her former history.

Operations
in America.

After the unsuccessful campaign of 1757 in America, the earl of Loudon returned to England, leaving the chief command in the hands of general Abercrombie, from whom it quickly devolved to major-general, afterwards lord, Amherst, who, on the arrival of admiral Boscawen from England, early in the year 1758, with very powerful reinforcements, concerted with general Abercrombie a plan of spirited and active operations for the ensuing campaign. The troops now assembled, both regulars and provincials, amounted to no less than fifty thousand men; a military force to which the new world had seen nothing comparable, and much too great to be employed on any single

1758.

Louisburg
taken.

object. The garrison of Louisburg being greatly reduced in consequence of the perfect security it was supposed to enjoy after the abandonment of the expedition of the last summer, it was resolved to renew the attempt. And general Amherst, with twelve thousand men, being convoyed by the fleet under admiral Boscawen, anchored, June 2, in sight of the fortress, which in a few days was formally invested. The approaches were made with great skill and circumspection; and the chevalier Drucourt, the governor, seeing no prospect of relief, assented to a capitulation on the 27th of July. Exclusive of the city of Louisburg and the whole island of Cape Breton, six ships of the line and five frigates, which were stationed in the harbour for the protection of the place, were either destroyed or taken by the English. General Abercrombie himself undertook, at the head of a still greater force, to reduce the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain. The first attempted was Ticonderago; a fortress which commands the communication between the two lakes, surrounded on three sides with water, and in front secured by a morass, and further defended, upon this emergency, with a breast-work, entrenchments, and *abbatis*. The general, however, determined upon an assault; but met with a severe re-

General
Abercrom-
bie repulsed
at Ticonde-
rigo.

BOOK XII. pulse, and was compelled to retreat with the
 1758. loss of one thousand eight hundred men; with
 which disaster he was so much dis-spirited, that
 he immediately reimbarked his troops, though
 still much superior in force to the enemy, and
 returned to the camp at lake George, from
 whence he had taken his departure.

Death of
 lord Howe.

An event still the object of tender recollec-
 tion and regret in America, took place on this
 occasion, in the death of lord Howe, a young
 nobleman who combined the most amiable
 manners with the most shining talents and the
 most heroic courage. His memory was ho-
 nored by a vote of the assembly of Massachu-
 setts for the erection of a superb cenotaph, at
 the expense of the province, among the he-
 roes and patriots of Britain, in the collegiate
 church of Westminster.

Forts Fron-
 tenac and
 Du Quesne
 taken.

A considerable corps, however, detached by
 general Abercrombie, under colonel Brad-
 street, against Fort Frontenac, situated on the
 northern bank of the river St. Laurence, at the
 precise point of its departure from lake Onta-
 rio, reduced this important post with little loss.
 And brigadier Forbes, who was destined to
 command the expedition against Fort Du
 Quesne, on the Ohio, finding it, on his arrival,
 dismantled and abandoned, immediately re-
 paired and garrisoned the fort, changing its

name, in compliment to the minister, to Pittsburg. And, in October, peace was established by a formal treaty between Great Britain and the Indian nations inhabiting the rich and fertile plains between the lakes and the Ohio. At the grand conference which preceded this treaty, the following oration, not unworthy of historic notice, was addressed to the English commissioners by one of the sachems, delegated to conduct this negotiation on the part of the Indians: "Brethren—I have raised my voice, and all the Indians have heard me as far as the Twightwees, and have regarded my voice, and are now come to this place. Brethren, the cause why the Indians of Ohio left you was owing to yourselves. The governor of Virginia settled in our lands, and disregarded our messages: but, when the French came to us, they traded with our people, used them kindly, and gained their affections. Our cousins the Minisinks tell us, they were wronged of a great deal of land, and pushed back by the English settling so fast upon them as not to know whether they have any lands remaining in surety. You deal hardly with us; you claim all the wild animals of the forests, and will not let us come on your lands so much as to hunt after them; you will not let us peel the bark of a single tree to cover our cabins—

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1758.

surely this is hard! Our fathers, when they sold the land, did not purpose to deprive themselves of hunting the wild deer, or using a branch of wood. Brethren, we have already acquainted you with our grievances; and we have referred our cause to the great king. I desire to know if king GEORGE has yet decided this matter, and whether justice will be done to the Minisinks?"

Governor Bernard, in return, assured them that full satisfaction should be given to the Minisinks: and governor Denny, delivering to the chief a belt and string of *wampum*, declared "the ancient union of the British and Indian nations to be renewed and confirmed, and that fresh earth was put to the roots of the tree of peace, in order that it may bear up against every storm, and flourish as long as the sun shines, and the rivers continue to flow."

Extensive
projects of
general
Amherst.

These events sufficiently indicated that the fortune of the war had at length changed; and the French, who had been hitherto the assailants, now saw the necessity of concentrating their force, in order to defend themselves from future attack and invasion. General Amherst, who possessed in a high degree the spirit of military enterprise, had, on assuming the chief command, formed a project, which would doubtless have appeared romantic and imprac-

ticable to his predecessors, for the entire conquest of Canada in one campaign.

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1759.

For the accomplishment of this grand scheme, brigadier-general Wolfe, an officer who, though yet in early life, had distinguished himself in a very remarkable manner at the late siege of Louisburg, was directed, as soon as the navigation of the St. Laurence should be clear of ice, to proceed with a strong squadron of ships of war, and a large body of land forces, to undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of French America. General Amherst, in person, proposed with the principal army to reduce the forts of Ticonderago and Crown Point; to cross the lake Champlain, and, marching along the river Richelieu and the southern banks of the St. Laurence, to join general Wolfe under the walls of Quebec. Lastly, brigadier-general Prideaux, with another separate corps, reinforced by a numerous body of Indians, assembled and conducted by the influence and authority of sir William Johnson, was destined to invest the important post and fortress of Niagara, which commanded the navigation of the lakes, and the communication of the rivers St. Laurence and Mississippi. After the reduction of Niagara, the forces were ordered to be embarked on the lake Ontario, and, proceeding down the river St. Laurence, to under-

BOOK XII. take the siege of Montreal, the second city of
1759. Canada, and then to join the grand army before Quebec. It is scarcely to be imagined that so magnificent and daring a project should, in the execution, prove completely successful in all its parts. It was, however, doubtless the conception of a great military genius; and the final result of this plan forms the highest eulogium which can be bestowed upon it.

Ticonderago surrenders.

General Amherst in the month of July arrived at Ticonderago, which at first the enemy seemed preparing resolutely to defend: but in the night of the 27th they suddenly and unaccountably abandoned this strong and hitherto impregnable post, and retired to Crown Point. The general, after giving the necessary orders for the security of the fortress, embarked with the army, and reached Crown Point on the 4th of August; but by this time Crown Point also was evacuated, and the English commander was informed that the French had retired to the Isle aux Noix, at the northern extremity of the lake Champlain, where they were reported to be encamped in force. The general, after making the most vigorous and indefatigable exertions to secure a naval superiority on the lake, again embarked his troops, in order to proceed to the attack of Isle aux Noix: but a continued succession of storms and tempests compelled

him to desist from the prosecution of his design, BOOK XII.
 and he returned to Crown Point, in the vicinity 1759.
 of which he took up his winter-quarters, in
 order to facilitate the early commencement of
 the ensuing campaign. Here he had the satis- Fort Nia-
gara taken.
 faction to learn that the expedition against
 Niagara had terminated happily: for though
 general Prideaux was unfortunately slain by
 the bursting of a shell in visiting the trenches,
 general Johnson, who succeeded to the com-
 mand, after defeating a body of forces which
 attempted the relief of the fort, had become
 master of it by capitulation, July 25; the pro-
 jected design against Montreal, in consequence
 of various combining obstacles, nevertheless re-
 maining for the present suspended.

But by far the most difficult and dangerous Expedition
against
Quebec
under gen.
Wolfe.
 branch of the plan originally concerted, was
 allotted to general Wolfe, whose rising talents
 and reputation now began to excite universal
 attention. On the 26th of June the armament
 destined for the invasion of Canada arrived at
 the island of Orleans, formed by the branches
 of the river St. Laurence, and extending to the
 basin of Quebec. This metropolis is situated
 at the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and
 St. Charles. The fortifications are strong, and
 the city elegant and extensive. It consists of
 an upper and a lower town: the lower town is

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1759.

built upon the strand, which stretches along the base of the lofty rock on which the upper town is situated. This rock continues with a bold and steep front far to the westward, parallel to the river St. Laurence. On this side, therefore, the city might well be deemed absolutely inaccessible. On the other, it was protected by the river St. Charles, the channel of which is rough and broken, and its borders intersected with ravines. On the left bank of this river the French army, amounting to about 10,000 men, under the command of M. de Montcalm, were posted; the encampment extending to the river of Montmorenci to the east, and their rear was covered with impenetrable woods.

Gen. Wolfe
repulsed at
Montmo-
renci.

The English general, perfectly sensible that, unless the enemy could be brought to a decisive engagement, his enterprise must prove abortive, resolved, after some feints—in vain made to induce his able and cautious antagonist to relinquish this advantageous post—to attack the French in their entrenchments, near the falls of Montmorenci. On the last day of July, dispositions being made for a general assault, the troops were landed under the cover of the cannon of the ships of war; but, notwithstanding the express orders given, not to march forward till the whole army was formed, the English grenadiers, rushing to the attack with

irregular impetuosity, were soon thrown into BOOK XII.
 confusion by the enemy's fire, and suffered 1759.
 very severely in the retreat. The general advancing in person with the remaining brigades, the fugitives formed again in the rear of the army; but the plan of attack was effectually disconcerted; and the English commander was compelled to give orders for repassing the river to the island of Orleans, which was effected not without considerable loss.

At this period the general transmitted dispatches to England penned with remarkable perspicuity and elegance, but in a tone of depression which demonstrated a perfect sense of the embarrassments of his situation. "We have," said he, "almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In such a choice of difficulties I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain I know to require the most vigorous measures; but the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hopes of a favorable event. However, you may be assured that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed, as far as I am able, for the honor of his majesty, and the interest of the nation."

General
Wolfe's
embarrass-
ments.

The disappointment of general Wolfe must have been inexpressibly great, at the failure of the concerted plan of co-operation on the part

BOOK XII. of general Amherst; yet throughout this celebrated letter not a symptom is to be found of *dissatisfaction* at the conduct of that commander, whose utmost exertions general Wolfe was well assured would not be wanting to its accomplishment. It exhibits the picture of a hero calmly yet anxiously pressing forward in the arduous path to glory; and, unmoved by the consideration of personal danger, revolving and meditating designs of the temerity, of which he is perfectly conscious.

Surprising
exertions
of general
Wolfe.

The disaster of Montmorenci made a deep impression on the lofty and susceptible mind of the English general. He was observed often to sigh; and, to his intimate friends, he declared his determination to die rather than endure the censure and reproach which invariably attend the want of success. An effort transcendently bold, and approaching in other circumstances to rashness and desperation, yet remained to be tried. A plan was formed, in concert with the naval commander admiral Saunders, for landing the troops on the northern bank of the river, above the city, and, by scaling the heights hitherto supposed inaccessible, to gain possession of the grounds at the back of the town, where it was but slightly fortified. The admiral, in order to deceive the enemy, moved up the river several leagues beyond the spot fixed upon for

the landing; but, during the night, he fell BOOK XII.
 down with the stream, in order to protect the 1759.
 disembarkment of the troops, which was hap-
 pily accomplished in secrecy and silence. The Gen Wolfe
 precipice now remained to be ascended; and, gains pos-
 with infinite labor and difficulty, the troops session of
 sustaining themselves by the rugged projec- the heights
 tions of the rock, and the branches of the trees of Abraham.
 and plants which sprang from the innumerable
 clefts into which it was every-where broken,
 they at last attained the summit, and imme-
 diately formed in order of battle. The intelli-
 gence being quickly conveyed to M. de Mont-
 calm that the English army was in actual pos-
 session of the heights of Abraham, that com-
 mander declared himself unable to express his
 astonishment, and immediately comprehended
 the necessity of risking an engagement, in
 order to save the city.

Abandoning, therefore, his strong camp of
 Montmorenci, he passed the river St. Charles,
 and advanced to the attack of the English
 army with great intrepidity. A very warm Battle of
 engagement ensued; and general Wolfe, who Quebec,
 stood conspicuous in the front of the line, re- Sept. 13.
 ceived a shot in the wrist, which, wrapping a
 handkerchief around it, he seemed not to no-
 tice, and continued giving orders without the
 least emotion. But advancing at the head of

BOOK XII. 1759. the grenadiers, another ball pierced his breast, and compelled him to retire to a spot a little distant from the field of action, where he expressed the most eager anxiety to learn the fate of the battle. He was, after an interval of suspense, told that the enemy were visibly broken : and reclining, from extreme faintness, his head on the arm of an officer standing near him, he was in a short time aroused by the distant sound of "They fly ! they fly !"—"Who fly ?" exclaimed the dying hero—On being told "The French"—"Then," said he, "I depart content," and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory. A death more glorious, and attended with circumstances more picturesque and interesting, is no-where to be found in the annals of history. The death of Epaminondas only, to which that of Wolfe has frequently been compared, seems to dispute the pre-eminence*.

General Wolfe expires in the arms of victory.

The generals Monckton and Townshend,

* Sic certus hostes terga dare in fugam

Thebanus heros "extrahe telum" ait :

Vultuque subridens amœno

Magnam animam exhilaratus efflat.

Ambo beati ! Plaudite, milites,

Morte invidendâ plaudite nobilem !

Te rura, fortunate, et urbes,

Te recinet nemus omne, WOLFE.

after the loss of their commander, continued the fight with unabating ardor; and M. de Montcalm, the French commander, receiving a mortal wound, the French gave way on all sides, and a most complete victory was gained, at a comparatively inconsiderable expense. The city of Quebec, struck with consternation at this event, almost immediately capitulated, though still provided with the means of a vigorous defence; and the shattered remains of the French army retired with precipitation to Montreal.

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Quebec surrenders.

In England, this intelligence, which very closely followed the former doubtful dispatches of the general, excited that delirium of joy which the return of national prosperity, after a long series of national disasters, is alone adequate to inspire. This was damped only by the death of the hero who had achieved the conquest; but so fascinating were the glories with which it was environed, that in fact it rather heightened than diminished the exultation of the triumph.

Delirium of
joy in En-
gland.

Vide CANADIA, an ode published in the year 1760, and fraught with all the beauties of classic composition. The glorious deaths of other heroes press at the same time upon the imagination — of a Bayard; a Sydney; a Gaston de Foix;—of a Gustavus Adolphus; and of Constantine the last emperor of the Greeks, which, though not adorned by the purple coloring of success, is perhaps beyond all others intrinsically illustrious.

BOOK XII.

1759.

1760.

General Murray, who had been appointed to the government of Quebec, took every precaution that prudence could suggest to secure and maintain this important possession. Nor were they found superfluous; for, early in the spring of the year 1760, the chevalier de Levis, who succeeded M. de Montcalm as commander of the French forces, assembled with great diligence, from all quarters, the troops remaining in Canada, and began his march from Montreal in the month of April, hoping to recapture Quebec before the garrison could receive the expected succors from England. General Murray, though much inferior in numbers, took possession of an advantageous post in the vicinity of Quebec, and determined to risk an engagement, which, if it proved unsuccessful, would not prevent his retiring within the walls of the city, which he determined to defend to the last extremity. The great disparity of force soon decided the conflict in favor of the French, and the general retreated to Quebec, which was immediately invested by the French army. But on the intelligence that an English fleet destined for its relief was already in the gulf of St. Laurence, they raised the siege with great precipitation, leaving their provisions, stores, and artillery, in the hands of general Murray. And the marquis

de Vaudreuil, governor-general of Canada, now centred all his hopes in the defence of Montreal, which, in the expectation of an attack from general Amherst, he had strengthened with new fortifications, had recruited his army with new levies of troops, and had collected large magazines of military stores. The English commander, after detaching colonel Haviland with a strong force to besiege the post occupied by the French at Isle aux Noix, proceeded himself to the banks of the lake Ontario, where he embarked his troops, and, crossing the lakes, reduced the *Isle Royale*, commanding the entrance of the great river St. Laurence, the navigation of which, to the island of Montreal, is rendered extremely dangerous by the number of rapids and falls. The general, however, arrived with his army at Montreal, the beginning of September, with inconsiderable loss; and in a short time he was joined by general Murray, who had received orders to co-operate with him on the side of Quebec. And colonel Haviland, also, after the reduction of the Isle aux Noix, had advanced with the forces under his command to the south side of the river, opposite to Montreal. The marquis de Vaudreuil, perceiving himself completely invested, and despairing of relief, demanded a capitulation, which was

Montreal
taken, and
the con-
quest of
Canada
completed
by general
Amherst.

BOOK XII. granted upon very favorable terms. And thus
 1758. the conquest of the province of Canada was finally completed—a conquest the most glorious and the most important ever achieved by the arms of Great Britain.

1758. Uninterrupted prosperity also, during the
 Senegal and same period, attended the operations of the
 Goree war, on the part of England, in the other
 taken. quarters of the globe. Early in the year 1758, a plan had been presented to the minister, by one Cumming, an African merchant, of the pacific sect of quakers, for the reduction of Fort Louis, on the river Senegal; which being examined and approved, a small squadron was equipped, under the command of captain Marsh, hoisting a broad pendant; Mr. Cumming embarking also on board the commodore's ship, as a promoter and director of the expedition. After dispersing some armed vessels, which opposed their entrance into the river, the fort and adjoining factory surrendered without a blow to the commodore; and Mr. Cumming defended his recommendation as perfectly consonant to his religious principles, affirming himself to have been previously persuaded that it would prove a bloodless conquest.

And in the latter end of this year, a successful attempt was made, under the conduct of

commodore Keppel, with a more considerable force, upon the island of Goree, situated to the south of the Senegal. The island was defended by two small forts, and several batteries, mounted with more than one hundred pieces of cannon; but they were soon silenced by a furious cannonade from the ships of war. During the attack, the opposite shores were covered with multitudes of the natives, who expressed with loud clamor and uncouth gesticulations their astonishment at the terrible execution performed by the British squadron.

Nearly at the same time, a very powerful armament, with six regiments of infantry on board under the command of generals Hopson and Barrington, sailed from St. Helens, and being joined on their arrival in Carlisle Bay, in the island of Barbadoes, by a considerable additional force under commodore Moore, the united squadrons proceeded to Martinique; but finding this important island better prepared for its defence than was expected, they directed their course to Guadaloupe, of which, after a long and obstinate resistance, they made themselves masters—the neighbouring isles of Deseada and Marigalante surrendering also on capitulation.

Capture of
Guada-
loupe.

Notwithstanding the ill success of the expedition against Rochefort, the minister deter-

BOOK XII. mined upon another attempt of the same nature; the execution of which was entrusted to commodore, afterwards lord, Howe, an officer of approved judgement and gallantry, who disembarking the troops, agreeably to his instructions, on the coast of Normandy, took possession of the town of Cherburg without opposition: and, after destroying the harbour and basin of that place, upon which much labor and much money had been expended, the fleet set sail for England; but, in a short time, it again weighed and stood to the southward; and the land forces, under general Bligh, disembarked under the cannon of the shipping, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, which they found, however, too strongly fortified to be carried by a *coup de main*. The general, therefore, determined to penetrate into the open country, and advanced—for what purpose is not easy to divine—to a considerable distance beyond the possibility of protection from the fleet.

Cherburg
taken.

The unimportant operations of this predatory war soon received an alarming interruption from the intelligence that the duc d'Aguillon, governor of Bretagne, was in full march, at the head of eighteen regular battalions and squadrons, to intercept their retreat. The general immediately began his march for the bay

English re-
pulsed at
St. Cas.

of St. Cas, where the English fleet lay at anchor: but, before he could complete the re-
barkation of his troops, the rear-guard, con-
sisting of fifteen hundred men, was attacked
by the French, and the far greater part of
them killed or taken. The utility of expedi-
tions of this nature, even when most successful,
seems very liable to question: and the expense
attending the present unfortunate attempt in
particular was so great, and the damage sus-
tained by the enemy so trivial, that it was by
some persons insolently styled "a scheme to
break windows with guineas."

BOOK XII.

1758.

In the ensuing summer (1759), admiral Rod-
ney was detached with a squadron, under pre-
text of impeding the rendezvous of the trans-
ports collecting in its vicinity, to bombard the
town of Havre de Grace, which was, at the
first alarm, deserted by the inhabitants in great
consternation. Nineteen hundred shells, and
eleven hundred carcasses, were, it is said, ex-
pended in this direful act of unavailing ven-
geance.

1759.

In the succeeding month of August, admiral
Boscawen, who now commanded in the Medi-
terranean, had, however, an opportunity of
asserting the honor of the British flag in a
manner much more effectual. M. de la Clue,
endeavouring to pass the Strait of Gibraltar

French de-
feated off
Cape Lagos
by admiral
Boscawen.

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1759.

Second de-
feat off
Quiberon
Bay by ad-
miral
Hawke.

with a considerable squadron, was intercepted by the English admiral off Cape Lagos; and, after a fierce conflict, the French admiral's own ship (the *Ocean*, of eighty guns), and three other capital ships, struck their colors to the English: a fifth (the *Redoubtable*, of seventy-four guns) was burnt, after having been abandoned by her crew.

A remarkable circumstance attended this engagement; which is, that M. de la Clue, unable to escape the pursuit of the English — who crowded all their sails to come up with him — and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to run his ships on shore; which he effected near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shot at the English. The captains of the *Temeraire* and *Modeste* anchored under the guns of the forts Xavier and Lagres; and in that situation were attacked, and compelled to a surrender. For this irregular proceeding a formal embassy was sent, with such an apology as the case admitted, to the court of Lisbon; which had neither the power, nor probably the inclination, to resent this palpable violation of her avowed neutrality.

The victory of admiral Boscawen was soon succeeded by another of yet greater importance. Vast preparations had been, for some

time past, making in the French ports in the Channel, with a view, as was imagined, to a descent in some part of Great Britain or Ireland. And a powerful fleet was actually equipped in the harbor of Brest, which was long prevented from putting to sea by the vigilance of sir Edward Hawke, who had, with a superior force, blockaded that port during the greater part of the summer. At length, being driven from this station by stress of weather, M. de Conflans, the French admiral, embraced the opportunity of weighing anchor from Brest Water with an armament of twenty-one ships of the line. On the first intelligence of their departure, sir Edward Hawke sailed in pursuit of them. As soon as the French admiral perceived the English fleet off Quiberon Bay, he retired close in shore, in order to avoid an engagement. The English commander, however, was not deterred by his knowledge of the coast, which is in this part rendered extremely dangerous by rocks, shoals, and quicksands, from following and attacking the enemy with the most undaunted resolution; the weather also was uncommonly tempestuous, the days much diminished in length, and the English admiral had to encounter the additional disadvantage of a lee shore. About three o'clock on the twentieth of November 1759 the battle began,

BOOK XII. and continued till the fleets were enveloped in
 1759. darkness, which seasonably intervened to save the French fleet from total destruction. Two capital ships, the *Superbe* and *Thesée*, were sunk during the action; the *Héro* struck her colors, but no boat could be sent with safety to take possession; the *Soleil Royal*, the flag ship of the French commander, was next day burnt by her own crew, to prevent her falling into the hands of the English; and two other ships of the line were also stranded and destroyed. The rest of the fleet, with much difficulty, sheltered themselves in the river *Vilaine*, where they were long blockaded, but at length found means to escape to *Rochefort*. This was a fatal blow to the French marine; and, after this defeat, the French court attempted no further naval expedition of moment. Very important advantages also were obtained in the latter years of the war by the British arms on the coast of *India*, of which it will now be necessary to offer a concise but distinct narration.

Transac-
 tions in
 India---
 Political &
 historical
 introduc-
 tion.

Hindoostan, that vast country, extending two thousand miles in length from the mountains of *Tartary* and *Thibet* on the north, to *Cape Comorin*, divided only by a narrow strait from the beautiful island of *Ceylon*, on the south, presents, among the various regions of the earth, a most conspicuous and interesting ob

ject of political and philosophical contemplation. The civilisation of this immense peninsula may be traced back to an æra of the most remote antiquity. Learning and the arts, which have descended to the modern nations of Europe from the Romans and the Greeks, were indubitably transmitted or transferred to them from the Phœnicians and Egyptians; who, as there is great reason to believe, derived the radical principles of the knowledge which they possessed from the sages of Hindoostan, with whom science and the arts seem to have originated. And it is very remarkable, that such as the inhabitants of Hindoostan are described to have been two thousand years ago, such they still remain; and the established laws, institutions, customs, manners, and religion, of India, have, in this long succession of ages, suffered neither any essential addition nor diminution. Nothing, indeed, can be imagined more strongly calculated to perpetuate the system originally formed than the singular and remarkable division of this people into tribes, professions, or CASTES, separated by a superstition so rigorous, as to render it unlawful and profane even to eat or drink out of the same vessel, excepting on their solemn festivals in the same temple or pagoda, when joining in the same religious sacrifice.

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The principal castes of India are, the brahman, or men of science, including the priesthood; the khatries, or the military, and proprietors of land; the bhyse or banian, comprehending the merchants and cultivators of the soil; and the sooderahs, or mechanics and laborers, including the bulk of the people. But these are subdivided into many others, all of which are kept religiously distinct. The hallachores, styled, in the Sanscrit, chandalas, are the refuse and *outcasts* of all the different tribes; but the number of them is happily inconsiderable, as they are held in a kind of religious abhorrence; their very touch, or the slightest accidental intercourse with them, being accounted, even by the lowest sooderah, an almost indelible pollution.

Also, scattered throughout the immense regions of Hindoostan, are to be found multitudes of wandering devotees, or ascetics, known under the various appellations of yoghees, sonassees, faquiers, &c. &c. Deeply impressed with the doctrine taught by the brahman philosophy, that man's supreme felicity consists in a kind of intellectual apathy or absorption, these enthusiasts, with deplorable folly, inflict upon themselves the most rigorous and almost incredible corporeal penances, vainly hoping, by this means, to assimilate and exalt their

minds more nearly to the perfection of the divine nature, and to detach themselves more effectually from that system of matter which they are taught to condemn as base and vile. And such is the veneration in which this species of voluntary martyrdom is held, that the profane and abject chandala is not admitted to the enviable privilege of devoting himself to this sacred profession.

All the different tribes, the military *caste* only excepted, are required, under certain exemptions or indulgencies, to abstain from animal food; and the high and venerable *caste* of the brahmans in particular, from whom more rigid examples of virtue are expected, touch nothing that has life, but subsist entirely upon milk, fruit, and vegetables. The principles of their philosophy, as well as the mysteries of their religion, are contained in certain records of the most obscure and recondite antiquity, styled the *Veds* or *Vedans*, supposed to be of divinely-inspired origin, and written in the Sanscrit language, which has long ceased to be a living tongue, and is now understood only by the learned brahmans, whose peculiar province and privilege it is to read and meditate these sacred volumes. The khatries, who rank next in dignity, are permitted to hear them read; but the inferior tribes are restrained to the

BOOK XII. knowledge of the *Shastahs*, which are commentaries of high and established authority upon the Vedams, adapted to popular use. The grand and fundamental article of their religious creed is, that there is ONE SUPREME GOD, whose essence is infinitely removed from human comprehension; eternal, omnipotent, invincible; who ordains and accepts the various religious rites of various nations: and that he is best pleased and propitiated by charity and good works. They teach that this God is to be worshipped by SYMBOLS representing his various attributes—a most pernicious and fatal error, with admirable wisdom guarded against in the Jewish decalogue; which, from a system of pure and refined theism, has converted, by a natural and irresistible gradation, the popular religion of the Hindoos into gross idolatry.

The philosophers of Hindoostan admit without hesitation the doctrine of the immortality of the soul; which they conceive to be an emanation from the divine essence, and capable of an accidental and temporary conjunction with and transmigration to any organical system of matter: and into the same divine and infinite essence from which it originally sprung, after completing its destined series of transmigration, it will be ultimately absorbed.

When BRAHM the SUPREME determined to

create the universe, the Vedams teach that he first commanded into existence the gods Vish-
 noo, Brimha, and Shivah; to whom he dele-
 gated the task of forming, preserving, and go-
 verning all things which it contains. This my-
 thological account, however, is understood to
 be entirely allegorical; and this TRIAD of di-
 vine emanations, expressed in the Sanscrit lan-
 guage by the mystic word OUM, are unque-
 stionably nothing more than symbols of the
 different energies of the divine nature, or of
 the power, wisdom, and goodness, of the SU-
 PREME*.

In the famous dialogues preserved in the San-
 scrit language between Vishnoo and Arjoon,
 Vishnoo says, "All things proceed from me;
 and there is not any thing, animate or inani-
 mate, without me. In me all things are repo-

* This is the TRIAD, or TRINITY, with which the mind of
 PLATO was so deeply impressed and enraptured; and which,
 in consequence of the wide diffusion of the Platonic system of
 philosophy, blended itself so intimately with the learned
 theories of the early heathen converts to Christianity. Such
 was the scientific ardor of this celebrated Grecian, and such
 his admiration of the Indian philosophy, that we are told
 "he once entertained a purpose (emulous perhaps of the fame
 of Pythagoras, and fired by the example of that illustrious
 sage) of visiting Hindoostan in person—" Ad INDOS," says
 Apuleius, "et Magos intendisset animum, nisi eum bella tunc
 vetuissent Asiatica."

BOOK XII.  sited. I am in the incense, in the fire, and in the victim. He who believeth in UNITY, and worshippeth me present in all things, dwelleth in me. They who, delighting in the welfare of all nature, serve me in my incorruptible, ineffable, and invisible form, omnipotent, incomprehensible, exalted, fixed, and immoveable, with subdued passions, and who are the same in all things, shall come unto me." Arjoon says in reply, "Reverence be unto thee! again and again reverence! O thou who art all in all! Great is thy power and great thy glory! By thee the universe was spread abroad. Thou art Vayoo the god of the winds, Agnee the god of fire, Varoon the god of the ocean, &c. Worthy to be adored! bear with me as a friend with a friend, a lover with the beloved." Vishnoo answers, "He is dear to me who is free from enmity, merciful, and exempt from pride and selfishness; who is the same in pain and in pleasure; patient of wrongs, contented; and whose mind is fixed on me alone. He is my beloved of whom mankind is not afraid, and who is not afraid of mankind; who is unsolicitous about events, to whom praise and blame are as one; who has no particular home, and is of a steady mind. The man who, performing the duties of life, and quitting all interest in them, placeth his affections upon BRAHM the

SUPREME, is not tainted with sin, but remaineth BOOK XII.
like the leaf of the lotos unaffected by the
waters.”

Krishen, or Krishna, is the god Vishnoo in one of his various incarnations: in which capacity he is represented as a youth of more than mortal beauty, with the characteristic appendage of a flute or lyre, resembling the Apollo of the Greeks: and, among many other striking analogies between the Indian and Grecian mythologies, described as encircled by the same number of graceful nymphs, endowed with the same divine accomplishments, styled the GOPIA; who are said to have fixed their residence in the delightful groves of Matra*.

In the temples of Vishnoo, this god is worshipped under the symbol of a human figure having a circle of heads and a multiplicity of hands, to denote the universality of his knowledge, presence, and power. The most cele-

* In a hymn addressed to Kama-diva, or the GOD of LOVE, in the Hindoo system, son of Maya the power of attraction, we read, in the elegant translation of sir William Jones,—

“ Can men resist thy power when Krishen yields?

Krishen, who still in Matra's holy fields

Tunes harps immortal, and to strains divine

Dances by moonlight with the GOPIA nine.”

BOOK XII. brated of these temples, or pagodas, is situated on the banks of the Coleroon, near the western extremity of the island of Seringham. It consists of seven square inclosures, standing at three hundred and fifty feet asunder. In the inmost inclosure are the altars, and the image of the deity. The grand entrance is ornamented with columns of granite of prodigious size. When the wars in the Carnatic between the French and English commenced, these rude invaders scrupled not to profane, by the license of military intrusion, the first courts of this hallowed edifice. A brahman, standing on the summit of the lofty portico of the temple, cried to them with a loud voice to desist from this impiety; but finding his menaces and supplications equally disregarded, he threw himself down with violence upon the pavement below, and was instantly dashed in pieces.

It is a singularity of the Hindoo system that it refuses to admit proselytes: for the Hindoo philosophers maintain, that the different modes of faith and worship established in different countries, when practised with a pure mind, are equally acceptable to the SUPREME; to whom they give the appellations of “the Principle of Truth”—“the Spirit of Wisdom”—the Universal Soul,” whose essence pervades all things, who fills all space, and who cannot therefore

be justly portrayed under any visible and distinct form. A celebrated Danish missionary, M. Ziegenbalg, tells us, “that the brahmans uniformly affirmed to him that GOD was a Being wholly spiritual and incomprehensible; but that the adoration before idols being ordained by their religion, GOD would receive and consider it as adoration offered to himself. In the multitude of images they professed to adore one Divine Essence.” — M. Bernier, a French traveller in the last century, who passed some time at the city of Benares, the sacred seat of Indian science, affirms “that he was told, in a conference which he held with the chief of the pundits, that though they had in their temples numerous images, or idols, in order to fix the attention of the worshipper (*afin qu’il y ait quelque chose devant les yeux qui arrête l’esprit*)—yet the honors paid to them were entirely to be referred to the Being whose attributes they represented.” And St. Francis Xavier, the great apostle of India, at a still earlier period informs us “that a brahman on the coast of Malabar revealed to him in confidence, that one of the mysteries of the Hindoo doctrine consisted in believing that there was only one GOD, creator of the heavens and of the earth; and that this GOD alone was worthy to be adored.”

BOOK XII.

The learned brahmans employed in translating from the Sanscrit to the Persian language the authentic records of their laws and customs, say, in the preliminary discourse affixed to their work—"From men of enlightened understanding and sound judgement, who in their researches after truth have swept away from their hearts malice and opposition, it is not concealed that the diversities of belief, which are causes of enmity and envy to the ignorant, are in fact a demonstration of the power of the Supreme Being. The truly intelligent well know that the difference and variety of created things, and the contrarieties of constitutions, are types of His wonderful attributes whose complete power formed all things in the animal, vegetable, and material world; whose benevolence selected man to have dominion and authority over the rest; who, having bestowed on him judgement and understanding, gave him supremacy over the regions of the world; who, having put into his hands the control and disposal of all things, appointed to each nation its own religion; and who constituted a variety of tribes, and a multiplicity of customs; but views with pleasure, in every place, the mode of worship particularly appointed to it. He is with the attendants upon the mosque in counting the sacred beads,

and he is at the temple with the Hindoos at the BOOK XII
adoration of the idols *.”

* The grand dogmas of Indian theology are exhibited with the blended energies of philosophy and poetry, in an ancient hymn, or divine ode, addressed to NARAYANA, or *the Divine Intellect*, as it appears in the animated translation of sir William Jones, from which these stanzas are transcribed.

“ Spirit of spirits, who thro’ every part
Of space expanded, and of endless time
Beyond the stretch of laboring thought sublime,
Bad’st uproar into beauteous order start;

Before heav’n was, THOU art!
Ere spheres beneath us roll’d, or spheres above,
Ere earth in firmamental ether hung,
Thou sat’st alone; till, thro’ thy mystic love,
Things unexisting to existence sprung.—

* * *

—Wrapt in eternal solitary shade,
Th’ impenetrable gloom of light intense,
Impervious, inaccessible, immense,
Ere spirits were infus’d, or forms display’d,
BRAHM his own mind survey’d.—

* * *

—Mountains, whose radiant spires
Presumptuous rear their summits to the skies,
And blend their emerald hue with sapphire light;
Smooth meads and lawns, that glow with varying dyes
Of dew-bespangled leaves and blossoms bright;

Hence! vanish from my sight!
Delusive pictures! unsubstantial shows;
My soul absorb’d, ONE only Being knows
Of all perceptions; one abundant source,
Whence every object, every moment flows!

BOOK XII.

The general characteristics of the people of Hindoostan are mildness, simplicity, and indolence. They delight to repose under the romantic shade of their vast forests ; or to refresh and purify themselves with frequent bathings and ablutions in their majestic and salubrious streams ; especially coveting to immerge in the sacred waters of the Ganges, for which celebrated river they universally entertain a superstitious and enthusiastic reverence. The famous expedition of Alexander into India was rather a discovery than a conquest. But the more recent invasion of Tamerlane was attended with serious and lasting consequences. That illustrious oriental victor, after subduing the more considerable northern provinces of the peninsula, fixed his imperial throne at Dehli, where the great moguls his descendants, now reduced to the mere phantoms and shadows of royalty, still continue to reside. For several ages, however, they retained great power and authority, and the empire of Hindoostan was divided into extensive kingdoms or provinces, which were governed by viceroy, styled subahs, and subordinate gover-

Suns hence derive their force ;

Hence planets learn their course.

But suns and fading worlds I view no more :

God only I perceive, God only I adore."

nors, under the appellation of nabobs and rajahs, tributary to, and removable at the pleasure of, the emperor. BOOK XII.

At so recent a period as the commencement of the present century, Aurengzebe swayed the sceptre of the Moguls with unabated majesty and splendor. But the power of this house received a tremendous shock from the invasion of the Persians, under the famous Shah Nadir, or Kouli Khan: and the governors of the provinces, seizing with eagerness the favorable moment, threw off their dependency upon the emperor, and almost universally established their authority as sovereign princes of the empire, of which the Mogul is at present regarded only as the nominal head. Tamerlane, the founder of the Mogul empire, and the Mogul and other Tartar tribes, who acquired, in virtue of his conquests, permanent establishments in India, being zealous professors of the religion of Mohammed, the viceroys of the provinces, the viziers, and other great officers of state, were from that period invariably selected from the number of the faithful; but few or no innovations were attempted in the internal government or constitution of the empire. And the wisdom of Tamerlane, which is no less the subject of oriental panegyric than his valor, appears in no respect more con-

BOOK XII. spicuous than in his cautious avoidance of those measures of political violence, which would probably have converted his newly-acquired dominions into one vast scene of desolation and anarchy*.

* The subahs and nabobs are universally Mohammedans—the rajahs, mirzahs, omrahs, and other subordinate governors or princes, are chiefly Hindoos. In a remarkable petition or remonstrance, presented by the rajah Jusswont Sing to the celebrated Aurengzebe, in consequence of an oppressive capitation recently and arbitrarily imposed throughout all the provinces and kingdoms of Hindoostan, by that imperious and warlike emperor, we find the following passages, which exhibit a striking picture of the ancient and accustomed tenor of the Mogul administration in India.—“ May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor, Mohammed-Jelaul-ul-Deen-Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven, conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm security, for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every tribe of men in ease and happiness; whether they were followers of Jesus, or of Moses, or of Mohammed. Were they brahmans, were they of the sect of the dharians, which denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed his countenance and favor—inso-much that he was distinguished by his people, in gratitude, by the appellation of ‘ Guardian of Mankind.’ His majesty, Mohammed-Noor-ul-Deen-Jehangheer, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection over the heads of his people. Nor less did the illustrious Shah Jehân, by a propitious reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal reputation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue. Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors: wheresoever they di-

In consequence of the important discovery BOOK XII.
made by the celebrated Portuguese navigator, Vasco de Gama, of a passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, the attention of the European nations was powerfully attracted by the immense riches of Hindoostan, now placed as it were within the general reach, particularly that of the Portuguese themselves, who rected their steps, conquest and prosperity went before them. How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from his people? At this juncture, it is told from east to west, that the emperor of Hindoostan, regardless of the illustrious honor of his Timurean descent, will exercise his power over brahmans, sonorahs, sonassees—that he will condescend to oppress the poor Indian devotee, the solitary inoffensive anchoret. If your majesty places any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed that God is the God of all mankind, and not the God of Mohammedans alone. The pagan and mussulman are equal in his presence—In the mosque his name is invoked—in the pagoda he is the object of adoration. To vilify the religion of other men is to set at nought the pleasure of the Almighty. In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is repugnant to justice—it is equally foreign to good policy; and moreover it is an innovation, and an infringement of the laws of Hindoostan. It is wonderful, that the ministers of your government should have neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of rectitude and honor.” If any credit be due to the doctrine of the metempsychosis, surely the soul of this illustrious rajah must have transmigrated into the body of a Montesquieu, a Locke, or a Turgot!

BOOK XII. established, by extraordinary exertions of valor, a commercial and political empire in India, of which the city of Goa was the emporium and metropolis. When Portugal was annexed by the arms of Philip II. to the crown of Spain, Holland successfully contended with that power for pre-eminence in India. And England and France were at length induced, from an increasing attention to their commercial interests, and without any ambition of dominion, to form settlements both on the eastern and western coasts of the peninsula. During the violent and frequent contests between these rival nations, destined to carry their rivalry into every part of the globe, no transactions of sufficient moment to demand a place in general history are to be found relative to India for a long succession of years.

At the period of the *accession* of the house of Brunswic, England was, on the western or Malabar coast, in possession of the island of Bombay and the factory of Surat: on the opposite or Coromandel coast, of Fort St. David, and, further to the northward, of Fort St. George, usually styled Madras, from its contiguity to that city, which, with several villages in the vicinity, was purchased, by the East India company, of the king of Golconda; still further to the north, at the mouth of the Gan-

ges, was Fort William, closely adjoining the town of Calcutta, a vast and populous commercial mart, situated in the kingdom of Bengal.

The commerce of the French chiefly centred in the city of Pondicherry, a large and beautiful town on the Coromandel coast, between the forts St. David and St. George. Chander-nagore, on the Ganges, ranked next in importance to Pondicherry, and they had also established factories at Rajapore, Calicut, and Surat, on the western side of the continent. During the course of the war which commenced in the year 1740, Fort St. George, or Madras, the residence of the governor-general, and the seat of the civil administration, extending over all the English settlements in India, was conquered by the French; but restored in exchange for Cape Breton, at the ensuing pacification of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Some years previous to that period, M. Dupleix had been appointed to the governor-generalship of the French settlements in India—a man of singular ability and daring ambition, who seized with avidity every opportunity to extend and establish the empire of France in Hindoostan. Nizam-al-Muluc, the subah or viceroy of the Decan, in the year 1745, had constituted, in virtue of his office, Anaverdi-

BOOK XII. Khan, nabob of the province of Arcot, a dependency upon his government. The subah not long surviving this appointment, was succeeded by his son, Nazir-Zing, whose claim to the succession was strongly opposed by his own kinsman Muzapher-Zing—for by these uncouth names, to our ears of barbarous sound, must the page of history, in recording the transactions of the European nations in India, be darkened and disfigured. Muzapher-Zing had recourse to the assistance of M. Dupleix, who readily granted him powerful succors, in consideration and prospect of great future advantages. Thus reinforced, and joined by Chunda-Saib, a man of high rank and influence in the subahdary, he took the field against Nazir-Zing, who was strongly supported by the English, from motives similar to those which actuated M. Dupleix. In a short time Muzapher-Zing was reduced to absolute submission, and Nazir-Zing, in clemency, spared his life; but detained him as a state prisoner. In this situation Muzapher-Zing found means to carry on dark and dangerous intrigues with Dupleix and Chunda-Saib, who had taken refuge in Pondicherry, and even with the ministers of Nazir-Zing; and a deep and traitorous conspiracy was formed, in consequence of which Nazir-Zing was murdered in his camp,

and Muzapher-Zing proclaimed subah of the BOOK XII.
Decan. Chunda-Saib was, in consequence of
this revolution, appointed nabob of Arcot,
Anaverdi-Khan, the late nabob, having been
previously defeated and slain, and his son Mo-
hammed-Ali-Khan reduced to the necessity of
putting himself under the protection of the
English government at Madras. Muzapher-
Zing did not long enjoy the fruits of his crimes;
for, by a conspiracy similar to that by which
he had himself risen to the throne, he was sud-
denly hurled from it; and the chiefs of the con-
spiracy, after putting this faithless usurper to
death, proclaimed Sallabat-Zing, brother to
Nazir-Zing, subah of the DECAN.

On the other hand, the MOGUL, by an im-
perial *phirmaund*, appointed Gawzedi-Khan,
the elder brother of Sallabat-Zing, to the vice-
royalty; at the same time declaring Chunda-
Saib a traitor, and confirming Mohammed-Ali-
Khan in the government of Arcot. But the
mandate of the emperor would have been of
little avail without the support and assistance
of the English company, who determined upon
sending a considerable military force, at the
head of which was placed captain Clive, in the
sequel so famous under the title of lord Clive,
into the province of Arcot, who, conducting
all his operations with a vigor and dispatch

BOOK XII. which at once established his reputation as a military commander, took possession of the city of Arcot in the summer of 1751. Chunda-Saib having assembled a considerable army, with the aid of M. Dupleix, invested the city of Arcot, but was compelled to raise the siege with great precipitation; and was afterwards, in repeated engagements, defeated and foiled by the English commander.

In the spring of 1752, major-general Lawrence, commander in chief of the company's troops, took the field in person, and attacking the grand army of the enemy, headed by the nabob Chunda-Saib, he gained a complete victory. Chunda-Saib, being taken prisoner, had his head struck off by order of the rajah of Tanjore, a neighbouring prince of India, in alliance with the company. M. Dupleix now proclaimed Rajah-Saib, son of Chunda-Saib, nabob of Arcot. And Sallabat-Zing, in return for the powerful support he had received from the French in the Decan, and having devised means to rid himself of his competitor Gawzedi-Khan by poison, made a grant to M. Dupleix of all the English possessions to the northward of Pondicherry. But the French governor being recalled before this grant could be carried into effect, and the sieur Godeheu, the new governor, professing the most pacific intentions, a

provisional treaty was quickly agreed upon on BOOK XII.
 the footing of *uti possidetis*, till fresh instructions should arrive from their respective courts or principals in Europe.

This interval of quiet, however, was of short duration; for no sooner was the inimical disposition of the two courts ascertained, than hostilities recommenced in the Carnatic, and were carried on with various success, but, upon the whole, with considerable advantage by general Lawrence on the part of the English; when the attention of that commander was, by a series of extraordinary and interesting events, diverted to another part of the continent, the peace of which had hitherto remained undisturbed by European ambition.

Ali-Verdi-Khan, subah of Bengal, with the contiguous provinces of Bahar and Orissa, a prince who had forced his way to the throne by great crimes, and had maintained possession of it by great talents, dying in April 1756, was succeeded by his adopted son Sou-Rajah-Dowla, the grandson of his brother Hadjee Hamet, a young man immersed in debauchery, weak in his understanding, violent in his passions, and profligate in his morals. Ali-Verdi-Khan, notwithstanding his early and continued partiality for this unhappy youth, with reason dreaded the consequences of his elevation to the mus-

1756.

Accession of
 Sou-Rajah-
 Dowla to
 the throne
 of Bengal

BOOK XII. *nud.* In his last illness, he obliged Sou-Rajah-
1756. Dowla to swear upon the Koran never more to touch any intoxicating liquor, a vow which he observed with surprising and undeviating fidelity. The subah, feeling the near and rapid approach of death, addressed his adopted son and heir in the following words: "My life has been a life of war and stratagem. For what have I fought, to what have my counsels tended, but to secure, my son, to you a quiet succession to my subahdary! My fears for you have rendered my nights sleepless. I considered who had power to give you trouble after I am gone hence. Hussein-Cooley-Khan, by his reputation, wisdom, courage, and affection to Shah Amet-Jung and his house, I feared would obstruct your government; but his power is no more. Monichund Dewan, who might have been your dangerous enemy, I have taken into favor. But, my son, keep in view the power of the European nations in this country. This I would have freed you from, if God had lengthened my days. The work must now be yours. Their wars and perfidious politics should keep you waking. The power of the English is great; reduce them first; the others will then give you little trouble. Suffer them not, my son, to have forts or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours."

Strongly impressed with these ideas, the new subah viewed with the highest alarm and apprehension the additional fortifications carrying on at Fort William, in consequence of the war now declared against France, and from the prosecution of which he repeatedly required the governor to desist. But his orders being neglected or evaded, he appeared suddenly before Calcutta, in the month of June, with a large body of troops, and summoned the fort and city to surrender. Mr. Holwell, who acted as governor, made a resolute defence, but was at length compelled to submit to superior force. The subah, notwithstanding his assurances of protection from personal injury, instantly ordered the English garrison, amounting to one hundred and forty-six persons, into confinement. And there being, at a small distance, a strong stone prison, forming within the walls a cube of about eighteen feet, open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, they were conveyed for immediate security to this dungeon. Mr. Holwell, on entering the place, immediately conceived all the horrors which must ensue, if they failed in obtaining a speedy release; and accosting the jemmautdaur or officer of the Indian guard, promised to gratify him with a thousand rupees if he would remove one half of them to a sepa-

BOOK XII.

1756.

Surrender
of Calcutta.Barbarities
of the
nabob.

BOOK XII.

1756.

rate apartment. The jemmautdaur, allured by the prospect of this reward, assured him he would use his utmost endeavour to procure for them this indulgence, and retired for that purpose; but returning in a short time, he told the governor that the subah, by whose order alone such a step could be taken, was asleep, and no person durst disturb his repose. Mr. Holwell, in his pathetic narration of this unexampled scene of distress, compares their situation, in this dark and sultry cell, to that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver—no circulation of fresh air sufficient to continue life, and not enough divested of its vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it. A most profuse perspiration, accompanied with a raging thirst, soon took place, which, becoming each moment more insupportable, gradually changed into phrensy and delirium. The prison now resounded with the ravings of despair, and, nature being at length reduced to extremity, with the groans and broken accents of the dying. In the morning twenty-three only were found alive, and in these scarcely were there any perceptible remains of sensation or sensibility.

Their sufferings, however, appeared to make little impression upon the ferocious and obdurate heart of the soubah, who visibly exulted in

the success of his enterprise — not having the least conception that the English would return in force to Calcutta : and contemptuously declaring, that he did not believe there were ten thousand fighting men in all *Frenghistan* *.

BOOK XII.
1756.

The wretched remains of the factory were now embarked on board a few trading vessels lying at the mouth of the Ganges ; and these the soubah did not offer to molest. He even expressed his wishes that the English merchants would return to Calcutta, if they could be satisfied to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of their own, and carry on their traffic like the Armenians and his own native subjects. And happy for mankind assuredly would it have been, had Europe never extended her views further than this in India.

No sooner, however, was the intelligence of this calamity conveyed to Madras, than vigorous preparations were made by the English government to revenge the injury, and obliterate the disgrace. A formidable armament under the command of admiral Watson and colonel Clive, to the great astonishment of the subah, anchored in the Ganges in December ; and immediately commencing their operations,

* *Id est*, The country of the Franks—the appellation universally given to the Europeans throughout the east.

BOOK XII. 1757. Calcutta was invested and reduced in the month of January (1757), and also the city of Hughley on the Ganges, where the principal magazines of the subah were deposited. Soon after which, the subah himself, who had assembled a vast army in order to repel the invaders, was attacked by colonel Clive, and obliged to retreat in confusion, and with considerable loss. Intimidated by the successes of the English, he consented to sign articles of peace, February 9, 1757, by which it was stipulated that the factories and possessions belonging to the English company should be restored, and full compensation made for their losses; and, in general, that whatever rights and privileges had been at any time granted to the company by virtue of the *phirmaunds* of the emperor should be confirmed and ratified.

After the conclusion of this treaty, the English commanders proceeded to the attack of the French fortress and factory of Chandernagore; the reduction of which filled the nabob with new apprehensions and alarms; and he remonstrated in strong terms to admiral Watson against these acts of violence: "It is," said the subah, "contrary to all rule and custom that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country: it has never been known since the days of Timur that

the Europeans made war upon one another within the emperor's dominions. If you are determined to besiege the French factories, I shall be necessitated, in honor and duty to my sovereign, to assist them with my troops." But admiral Watson, regardless of his remonstrances, and jealous of his designs, declared to him, "that, if he protected the king's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country that all the waters of the Ganges would not be able to extinguish." Such, indeed, was the capricious and tyrannic conduct of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, that those who were originally most attached to his interests began to be weary of his government. Among other men of high rank in the subahdary of whom he entertained just suspicion, was Meer-Jaffier-Ali-Khan, nearly allied to the subah by his marriage with the sister of Ali-Verdi-Khan. In the vehemence of his passion he had been heard to declare that he would have the head of Meer-Jaffier: and Meer-Jaffier, sensible of the imminent dangers of his situation, made secret proposals to the English resident at the court of Moorshedabad, the capital of Bengal, which were eagerly embraced by the English council and commandants at Calcutta, for the deposition of Sou-Rajah-Dowla, and the advancement of Meer-Jaffier to the *musnud*. The jealousies of

BOOK XII.
1757.

BOOK XII. the subah continuing to increase, Meer-Jaffier
1757.

retired from court to his residence in the country; from whence he transmitted dispatches to colonel Clive, urging him to begin his march to Moorshedabad. The colonel, seeing that the die was cast, and that they had already gone much too far unless they proceeded still further, immediately put the whole army in motion; and, with a just, though daring, reliance on his own talents and the valor of his troops, crossing the Ganges, he advanced to Plassey, within one day's march of the capital; where he found the subah encamped with a force of seventy thousand men, in all "the pomp, pride, and circumstance" of oriental magnificence. The number of elephants, with their scarlet housings—the rich and variegated embroidery of their tents and standards—and the martial splendor of their cavalry, parading over the field with their drawn swords glittering in the sun—made a grand and striking appearance.

The subah, feeble of mind and infirm of purpose, on the first intelligence of the march of the English army, had eagerly courted the support and assistance of Meer-Jaffier, whom he had beyond all possibility of forgiveness previously offended. A full and free pardon was granted to Meer-Jaffier; who, being in-

introduced into the presence of the subah, took a solemn oath upon the Koran that he would be his faithful soldier; and, in return, the subah swore that he would never attempt the life of Meer-Jaffier.

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1757.

Though the army of the subah was advantageously posted upon an eminence, colonel Clive advanced at the head of his troops, consisting of little more than three thousand men, with great intrepidity to the attack. Such, on the other hand, was the distrust and secret despondency prevailing throughout the Asiatic army, that resistance seemed to be scarcely attempted. With the trifling loss of about seventy men a most decisive victory was gained—the camp, artillery, and stores of the enemy falling into the hands of the victors. Doubtful, perhaps, of the final event, and perplexed in the mazes of his own policy, Meer-Jaffier, who commanded the left wing of the subah's army, took no part whatever in the action. But the English commander, far from discovering any impolitic symptoms of resentment at his ambiguity of conduct, saluted him, with apparent complacency, subah of the three provinces, and exhorted him to pursue his march to Moorshedabad at the head of his troops—engaging, without delay, to follow and support him with his whole force.

Victory of Plassey.

Deposition of Sou-Rajah-Dowla.

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1757.

Sou-Rajah-Dowla, who had fled with the foremost from the field of action, abandoned himself to despair; and on his arrival at Moorshedabad, after some tumultuous consultations and inconsistent resolutions, he disguised himself in the habit of a faquier, and left his palace in the dead of night, in order to seek for safety in obscurity. Meer-Jaffier, all obstacles to his advancement being now surmounted, was seated, with all the accustomed ceremonies of state, upon the *musnud*; and acknowledged as subah of Bengal by all the rajahs and omrahs of the kingdom: and the unhappy Sou-Rajah-Dowla, being discovered in his flight, was put to death, imploring in vain for mercy, after a reign of fifteen months, by the express command of the son of the new subah.

In conformity to the treaty previously concluded with the English, this prince paid into the treasury of the company a crore of rupees*, as an indemnification for their losses at Calcutta, and ceded to them a considerable territory in the vicinity of that city. And thus

* A crore is a hundred lacks of rupees, considerably exceeding one million sterling. Upon the whole, and on various pretences, not less than one million eight hundred thousand pounds sterling, exclusive of presents to individuals to an immense amount, was exacted from the new subah on this occasion. A lack of rupees is estimated at about 11,500*l*.

was a revolution accomplished very marvellous in the eyes of the inhabitants of Bengal, who could not comprehend how the throne of Ali-Verdi-Khan could be subverted by a handful of foreign mercantile adventurers. BOOK XII.
1757.

The affairs of the company being thus triumphantly re-established in the northern provinces of India, the watchful attention of the supreme council and of the military commanders was again turned to the coast of Coromandel, where the French had taken advantage of the temporary diminution of force on the part of the English, to make themselves masters of Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and other subordinate settlements in that quarter: and being now strengthened with large reinforcements from Europe conducted by M. Lally, under convoy of a powerful squadron commanded by M. d'Aché, they threatened the entire conquest of all the English possessions on that coast. Fort St. David's was first invested, which surrendered after a very short and feeble defence. 1758.

The rajah of Tanjore having distinguished himself as a zealous and faithful ally of the English, M. Lally marched into his dominions; and on the rajah's refusal to advance the enormous sum of seventy-two lacks of rupees, demanded by the French general, he invested the city of Tanjore; which was so resolutely de-

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1758.

fended by the native troops of the rajah, assisted by some European engineers, that M. Lally was compelled to raise the siege with considerable loss. He took possession, however, in his retreat from Tanjore, of the city of Arcot, the residence of the nabob Mohammed-Ali-Khan, without opposition; and, in the beginning of December 1758, he advanced with his whole force to Madras, to which he laid close siege: but the place being strongly fortified and plentifully provided, the garrison made an obstinate defence: and on the arrival of a considerable reinforcement of troops and military stores, under the conduct of captain Kemp-
 1759. enfelt, in February (1759), M. Lally abandoned the attempt, and retired with precipitation to Arcot, extremely chagrined at the ill success of this enterprise. "I reckon," says he, in an intercepted confidential letter to his friend M. le Gret, "that we shall, on our arrival at Pondicherry, endeavour to learn some other trade—this of war requires too much patience. Were I judge of the point of honor of the company's officers, I would break some of them like glass." This commander was a man of impetuous courage, but capricious, passionate, proud, and opinionated.

Successes of
the English.

Vizagapatam and Masulipatam were about this time recovered from the French by a de-

tachment under colonel Ford. And Salabat-
Zing, subah of the Decan, perceiving the for-
tune of the war now visibly inclining to the
English, made eager advances to the govern-
ment of Madras: and a treaty was concluded
with the subah, by which he renounced his
former alliance with France, and ceded the en-
tire *circar* of Masulipatam to the company;
and the English, on their part, engaged not to
assist or protect the subah's enemies.

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1759,

Colonel Coote, who now commanded in chief
the company's forces in the Carnatic, gained
several advantages over M. Lally, and cap-
tured, after a siege of short duration, the im-
portant town of Wandewash, making the gar-
rison prisoners of war. Passing rapidly to Ca-
rongoly, which also surrendered after a slight
resistance, M. Lally took advantage of his ab-
sence to invest the town of Wandewash. Co-
lonel Coote, marching with the utmost diligence
to its relief, arrived at the critical time that the
French had made a practicable breach. A
general engagement ensued. It was long and
obstinate; but it terminated in the total defeat
of the French, who abandoned their camp, their
cannon, and all the implements of the siege.

1760.
Battle of
Wande-
wash.

The first news of the victory was brought to
Madras at sunrise the next morning: and at
noon came a note of two lines written by colo-

BOOK XII. nel Coote on the field of battle. The joy which
1760. this success diffused was almost equal to that occasioned by the victory at Plassey*. The English commander immediately undertook the siege and effected the reduction of Arcot.

Several bloody, but indecisive, naval encounters intervened also, since the commencement of the preceding year, between M. d'Aché and admiral Pococke, the successor of admiral Watson, who had died soon after the recapture of Calcutta, universally lamented and esteemed as a man of great professional skill, of firm integrity, and of untarnished honor.

After the defeat of Wandewash, M. Lally fled with his broken troops to Pondicherry; whither he was pursued with unremitting diligence by colonel Coote, who, with the assistance of the British squadron, soon formed the blockade of that important city. As soon as the periodical rains abated, and the season for active operations recommenced, the blockade was converted into a regular siege: and the place, though defended with great vigor by M. Lally, was reduced to extremity before the end of January
1761. (1761); not so much from the damage sustained from the assaults of the besiegers, as from the excessive scarcity of provisions, which the

* Orme's History of Hindoostan.

temporary but critical absence of M. d'Aché, BOOK XII.
 now repairing and careening his ships at Mau- 1761.
 ritius, left M. Lally wholly destitute of the
 means to remedy. The English squadron, how-
 ever, being driven from their station by a vio-
 lent tempest, he dispatched a letter to the
 French resident at Pulicat, fortunately inter-
 cepted by the English, urging him in the
 strongest terms to exert himself in the pro-
 curement of supplies. "Lose not an instant,"
 says he, "in sending chelingoes upon chelingoes
 laden with rice. We are no longer blockaded
 by sea. The salvation of Pondicherry hath
 been once in your power already. Risk all—
 attempt all—force all!" The English admiral, Capture of
 however, soon resuming his station, he lost all Pondi-
 hope, and demanded a capitulation; which co- cherry.
 lonel Coote would grant upon no other terms
 than that of the garrison surrendering pri-
 soners of war; to which M. Lally at length in-
 dignantly assented. Thus the proud and opu-
 lent capital of the French settlements in the
 east fell by the fortune of war into the hands
 of the enemy, nearly at the same time that
 the conquest of Canada was completed in the
 west; and the genius of England triumphed
 over that of France, at this propitious period,
 on both sides of the globe.

There yet remains to be investigated another War in
Germany.

BOOK XII. grand and essential branch of the memorable contest now under contemplation; that is to say, the war in Germany, resumed with fresh vigor after a short interval, subsequent to the convention of Cloister-Seven. No sooner was the alliance concluded between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, than it was communicated to the court of Petersburg, and the empress of Russia acceded to it without hesitation. Sweden also speedily became a party in the confederacy; though extremely opposite to the views and inclinations of the monarch, who by the constitution of government established after the death of Charles XII. possessed little more than the shadow of regal authority. The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, was deterred from following the example of Sweden, only by his vicinity to Prussia, and the bitter recollection of his former losses and sufferings.

Great military preparations, however, being made in all parts of the Austrian dominions, and the king of Prussia having received undoubted intelligence of negotiations which had been long secretly depending between the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden, extremely to his prejudice, and of which the dismemberment of his dominions was understood to be the ultimate object, ordered M. Klingraffe, his minister at the imperial court,

to demand of the empress-queen a positive and explicit declaration of her intentions. Count Kaunitz, by command of the empress, replied, in general terms, "That her imperial majesty had found it necessary, in the present juncture, to arm for her own defence, and that of her allies; but that her armaments did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever." On the transmission of this answer, M. Klingraffe received fresh orders from the court of Berlin, to represent to the empress, "That his Prussian majesty was well acquainted with the secret hostile projects of the imperial courts; that he constituted the empress arbiter of peace or war; that he would be satisfied with nothing less than an express assurance of peace; and that he would regard an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war." The empress, in return, signified, in indignant terms, her astonishment at the memorial now presented. She said, that she had, in common with all other sovereigns, a right to take such measures as she deemed necessary for her safety, and that it belonged to none but herself to estimate her own danger; that no treaty of offensive alliance did exist, or had ever existed, between her and the empress of the Russias; and that the positive assurance required of her, in terms so unusually peremptory, could not be more

BOOK XII. binding than the solemn treaty actually subsisting, and which she had no intention to violate."

1756. The Prussian monarch, firmly persuaded, by evidence transmitted through secret channels * of intelligence, of the insincerity of the court of Vienna, and that Saxony waited only a favorable occasion openly to join the confederacy

* Le roi avoit un canal par lequel il tiroit des avis certains sur les projets de ses ennemis, qui étoient près d'éclater. C'étoit un commis de la chancellerie secrete de Dresde, qui remettoit toutes les semaines au ministre Prussien les dépêches que sa cour recevoit de Petersburg et de Vienne, ainsi que la copie de tous les traités qu'il avoit trouvés dans les archives. Il parut par ces écrits que la cour de Russie s'excusoit de ne pouvoir entreprendre la guerre cette année, à cause que sa flotte n'étoit pas en état d'entrer en mer.—La réponse du comte Kaunitz se trouva conçue en termes équivoques et ambigus; mais il s'expliqua plus ouvertement avec le comte de Flemming, ministre du roi de Pologne à Vienne, lequel rendit compte de cet entretien dans une relation à sa cour. La copie de cette dépêche fut envoyée incontinent de Dresde à Berlin: le comte Flemming y dit, "Le comte Kaunitz se propose d'inquiéter le roi par ses réponses, et de le pousser à commettre les premières hostilités." *Hist. de la Guerre de Sept Ans.*—Count Hertzberg, however, in his *Historic Memoir of the Reign of Frederic the Great*, presumes to suggest a doubt whether that monarch might not rely too confidently on this secret intelligence, and whether it was, or is, perfectly clear that the two empresses had really formed a fixed and serious design for the subversion of the electoral house of Brandenburg.

against him, entered that electorate with a numerous army, and took possession of the city of Dresden on the 8th of September 1756; declaring, however, that he did not mean to violate the neutrality professed by his Polish majesty, and requiring only that monarch to separate his army into cantonments, as a proof and pledge of his amity and good faith. The king of Poland, astonished and exasperated at this unexpected intrusion, seemed neither to know how to comply nor to resist. Relying, however, upon the strength of the inaccessible camp of Pirna, singularly and romantically situated on the summit of a lofty range of rocks extending along the banks of the Elbe, to which the Saxon army had retreated, he ventured to declare his resolution to keep his troops assembled for the defence and protection of his person and dominions. This, with an antagonist such as the king of Prussia, was equivalent to a declaration of war: and the Prussian general, finding it impossible to attack the Saxons, took immediate possession, by order of the king, of all the passes leading to this impregnable post; and the whole Saxon army, reduced to extremity by famine, was on the 14th of October compelled to surrender prisoners of war. The king of Poland now retired for personal security to Warsaw; and the

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1756.

King of Prussia takes possession of Dresden.

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1756.

king of Prussia took possession, as a conquered country, of the whole electorate. During the blockade of Pirna, that monarch had made an attempt to penetrate into Bohemia; but finding the Austrian army, under count Browne, strongly posted at Lowoschutz, on the Egra, a bloody engagement ensued (October 1), which terminated with nearly equal loss: the advantages also were nearly equal, as the Austrians were prevented from advancing to the relief of the Saxons, and the king of Prussia was on his part compelled to measure back his steps to Saxony, where he took up his winter quarters.

The king of Prussia, on re-entering Dresden, commanded the royal cabinet to be forced, in defiance of the personal opposition of the queen of Poland. In it was found deposited an authentic copy of a *defensive treaty* of alliance between the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden, which had been some years concluded, and which contained six secret articles. The fourth of these articles, for the sake of which the whole treaty seemed to be formed, imported, that if the king of Prussia should depart from the peace of Dresden, which the contracting powers declare their intention religiously to observe, by attacking either of the contracting powers, or even the republic of Poland, the rights of the empress-queen to

Silesia, &c., shall again revive and be considered as in full force; and the eventual partition of the Prussian dominions should take place as stipulated in the treaty. BOOK XII.
1756.

In consequence of these daring acts of violence, the king was, at the subsequent meeting of the diet at Ratisbon, in his quality of elector of Brandenburg, put under the *ban* of the empire, divested of his privileges and prerogatives, his fiefs escheated, and the circles ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for carrying this sentence into execution. Not in the least intimidated by this formidable denunciation, that monarch, early in the ensuing spring (1757), entered Bohemia at the head of a vast army, assisted by the mareschals Keith and Schwerin, and, advancing towards Prague, found the Austrians, who were at least equally numerous, entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, commanded by prince Charles of Lorraine and count Browne, whom he attacked without hesitation or delay—forcing the entrenchments with resistless intrepidity and complete success, though with the loss of the gallant mareschal Schwerin, who, after surviving the dangers of fifty campaigns, was slain, fighting at the head of his troops, covered with laurels, in the moment of victory. The shattered remains of the Austrian army took refuge in the city of Prague; 1757.

BOOK XII. where mareschal Browne soon after died of the
 1757. wounds which he received in the battle, or rather of the chagrin occasioned by the loss of it. The Prussians immediately formed the investment of that city, which, in consequence of the vast number enclosed within the walls, was quickly reduced by famine to the last extremity of distress.

King of Prussia defeated by M. Daun at Kolin.

At this critical period, the famous Leopold count Daun, originally a subaltern officer serving in the school of the great Khevenhuller, who with the penetrating eye of military sagacity marked his extraordinary talents and predicted his future eminence, was appointed to the chief command of the imperial armies. This general immediately prepared for the relief of Prague, by collecting troops from all quarters; and reinforcing them by numerous levies, he encamped with this new army in an almost impregnable situation at Kolin, near Prague, in order to harass and retard the operations of the siege. The king of Prussia, impatient of molestation and elated with success, formed the rash resolution of attacking mareschal Daun in his camp. The imperial general perceiving, from the eminence where he was stationed (by means of a telescope) the various evolutions of the Prussian army, and astonished at the presumption of the attempt, after long keeping

silence, at length exclaimed, "*Ma foi ! il me semble que le roi doit perdre aujourd'hui **!" After reiterated efforts, prompted by a species of heroism bordering on despair, the Prussians were finally repulsed with prodigious slaughter. The siege of Prague was immediately raised in consequence of this disaster, and Bohemia evacuated.

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1757.

The king of Prussia now found his prospects darkening on every side. The French army, under the duc de Richelieu, who, with merit very inferior, had superseded mareschal d'Estrees in the command, had penetrated into the electorate of Brandenburg, taken Halberstadt, and laid a great extent of territory under contribution. Mareschal Apraxin, at the head of one hundred thousand Russians, had entered Ducal Prussia, where they committed the most enormous excesses. Pomerania was menaced with a powerful invasion from Sweden. The army of the empire, reinforced by a strong body of troops under the prince of Soubize, had entered Lusatia. The victorious Austrians, after laying close siege to Schweidnitz, the key of Silesia, ravaged the whole country; general Haddick, at the head of a numerous detachment, carrying terror even to the gates of Berlin. It

* Wraxall's Memoirs.

BOOK XII. was at this period that the king of Prussia thus
 1757. expressed himself, in a letter to his friend the celebrated earl mareschal: "What say you of this league, which has only the marquis of Brandenburg for its object? The great elector would be surprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Swedes, the Austrians, almost all Germany, and a hundred thousand French auxiliaries. I know not whether it will be disgrace in me to submit; but I am sure there will be no glory in vanquishing me."

The Russian army, after reducing Memel, and leaving the country behind them a perfect waste, reached the frontiers of Germany in August; but were soon after unexpectedly attacked in their camp at Norkitten, by mareschal Lehwald, who commanded on that side: and, though that general was finally obliged to desist, the Russians sustained immense loss, and they soon afterwards made a precipitate retreat from the Prussian territories. In the mean time the king of Prussia, and mareschal Keith, engaging the combined forces of France and the empire, at Rosbach (November 5, 1757), commanded by Soubize, gained a complete victory, with inconsiderable loss. But this victory by no means extricated him from his difficulties; it merely left him at liberty to seek new dangers in other quarters. The Austrians, headed by

King of
Prussia de-
feats the
French at
Rosbach.

mareschal Daun, had taken Schweidnitz and laid siege to Breslau, and on the 22d of November forced, after an obstinate resistance, the entrenchments of the army under the prince of Bevern, posted near that place. The brave general Kleist, after performing prodigies of valor, was left among the slain. Breslau immediately surrendered on capitulation. The king of Prussia, on the news of this misfortune, instantly marched to the relief of Silesia; and, coming up with the Austrians at Lissa (December 4), the two armies joined battle with inconceivable fury. Fortunately for the Prussian monarch, prince Charles of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial army, rejecting the advice of count Daun, to remain as at Kolin within their entrenchments—which were rendered almost inaccessible—advanced two miles in front of the Austrian camp to receive the enemy, who marched to the attack in confidence of victory. The military conduct and personal bravery of count Daun, though exerted to the utmost on this occasion, proved wholly insufficient to prevent the total confusion and consequent rout of the Austrians; who lost more than twenty thousand men either in the battle or in passing the defiles which separate Silesia from Bohemia, where vast numbers, wandering amid the trackless wastes and

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King of
Prussia de-
feats the
Austrians
at Lissa.

BOOK XII. snows, perished of cold, fatigue, and hunger.

1757.

Breslau immediately opened its gates to the victors; and the whole province, excepting Schweidnitz, fell once more into the hands of the Prussians.

The sudden retreat of the Russians, which was better to be accounted for from political than military causes, left mareschal Lehwald at liberty to act against the Swedes, who had advanced into Prussian Pomerania, and were preparing to lay siege to Stetin; but on the appearance of the Prussian army, they not only evacuated the towns they had captured, but retreated with precipitation into Swedish Pomerania, whither they were followed by Lehwald, who drove them from one post to another, till nothing remained to them at the end of the campaign but the city of Stralsund. Such was the situation of the king of Prussia, when it was determined by the English minister, that the army of observation, scattered and dispersed by the convention of Cloister-Seven, should resume their arms; for which the excesses committed by the French troops in the electorate gave them a very fair and plausible pretext.

Mr. Pitt was not ignorant or insensible to the charge of inconsistency, which he well knew would be advanced against him with all

the force of truth, if not of eloquence, on this occasion: but very powerful reasons now influenced this minister to act in contradiction to that general system of policy which he had uniformly avowed and defended. The king of England, retaining all his partiality for German politics, and yielding only to the necessity of the times, had Mr. Pitt continued inflexible, would doubtless have embraced the first favorable opportunity of again dismissing a minister, who might not again be able to reinstate himself with the same eclat. But a consideration of still greater weight, it may be presumed, with Mr. Pitt, was, the visible change of sentiment in the nation at large on this subject. The king of Prussia, since the dissolution of his political connexion with France, and his consequent alliance with England, had become a very popular character in the country; and this national predilection, after the victory of Rosbach, rose to enthusiasm. That monarch artfully affected to consider the union of the two great catholic powers, as a combination to oppress and subvert the protestant interest in the empire; and the people of England, to whom the name of popery was still formidable, delighted to applaud and extol this sceptred infidel as THE PROTESTANT HERO. Their feelings and principles were, at this crisis, equally

BOOK XII. interested. The national honor was concerned
1757. to efface the stain of the ignominious convention of Cloister-Seven, by which an army had been annihilated.

The ingratitude of the queen of Hungary, whose obligations to England were of a nature and magnitude never to be forgotten, was the favorite theme of indignant declamation: whilst the courage, the talents, the successes of the king of Prussia excited an involuntary admiration and partiality in the breast even of those whose better judgement led them to condemn the whole tenor of his political conduct, as proceeding from a spirit of lawless and unprincipled ambition. It was not possible for Mr. Pitt to act with feebleness and indecision; and, if he resolved to engage in a Germanic war, which, after the alliance concluded with Prussia, seemed a sort of necessary appendage to the general system*, he would at the same time resolve to prosecute it with vigor and effect. This minister discerned also the advan-

* "Is it possible," said his Prussian majesty, in an expository letter addressed (as reported) at this crisis to the king of England, "that your majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? I hope your majesty will consider the step you have made me hazard, and remember you are the sole cause of those mis-

tage which might eventually arise to the distant and multifarious operations of Great Britain, from fixing the chief attention of France upon an object which, from local circumstances, must be at all times more interesting and important to that kingdom than to England. And he scrupled not, at a subsequent period, to hazard the paradoxical assertion, that "AMERICA had been conquered in GERMANY." And, upon the whole, it must perhaps be admitted, that the vast superiority of force maintained by France in Germany, and which was attended with no real or permanent advantage, was the principal cause of her invariable inferiority in almost all other parts.

The disbanded army being actually re-assembled at Stade, in November 1757, the command of it was conferred upon prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, brother to the reigning duke. This able general immediately put his troops in motion, and, though the season was so far advanced, obtained several advantages over the enemy. Two considerable detach-

The troops
disbanded
at Cloister-
Seven re-
sume their
arms.

fortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance with France, but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your majesty; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe."

BOOK XII. ^{1757.} ments from the French army were entirely defeated by generals Schuylenburg and Zastrow,

1758. the town and castle of Harburg reduced, and the cities of Lunenburg and Zell recovered; after which the two armies went into winter quarters.—In the course of the ensuing spring, the famous subsidy treaty was concluded between Great Britain and Prussia, by which the king of England engaged to pay into the hands of his Prussian majesty the annual sum of 670,000*l.*, or four millions of German crowns, to be employed at his discretion for the good of the common cause. This great supply enabled that monarch so take the field with redoubled force. In April 1758, he opened the trenches before Schweidnitz, and kept a continual fire upon the town, with a prodigious train of artillery, consisting of three hundred pieces of cannon and eighty mortars. The garrison were obliged to surrender upon capitulation before the end of the month. The Austrian army, after the battle of Lissa, having retired into Bohemia, the king of Prussia levied immense contributions in Saxony, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg.

Successes of
prince Fer-
dinand.

About the middle of February 1758, prince Ferdinand put himself at the head of the allies, and advancing towards the French army, which retired at his approach, took possession of Bre-

men without opposition. The duc de Richelieu BOOK XII.
 was now succeeded in the command by the 1758.
 count de Clermont, who found his troops reduced by the accidents of war, and a variety of hardships, to a most deplorable condition. Under these circumstances he determined to march back to the Rhine with all expedition. In consequence of this resolution, Hanover was evacuated, after having been in the possession of the French about six months. The duc de Randan, governor of that city for his most christian majesty, gained the highest honor by the generosity, rectitude, and humanity of his conduct; for which he received the formal and grateful acknowledgements of the regency of the electorate. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, and so great was their confusion and embarrassment, that they were obliged to abandon their sick and wounded to the mercy of the allies, who also took many prisoners, with several entire magazines of provision and forage which they had not time to destroy.

The count de Clermont, having at length reached the further borders of the Rhine, was still closely pursued by prince Ferdinand, who passed that river in the beginning of June; and, on the 23d of that month, attacked the French army posted at Crevelt, the left wing of which, after a warm engagement, was de-

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1758.

feated with the loss of six thousand men; but the right and centre made a skilful and regular retreat. The count de Gisors, only son of the mareschal duc de Belleisle, and one of the most accomplished noblemen of the French court, fell in this action. Prince Ferdinand immediately invested Dusseldorp, which soon surrendered on capitulation. At this period the count de Clermont was succeeded by mareschal de Contades, who, being joined by powerful reinforcements, menaced an attack upon the prince in his turn; and the prince of Ysemburg, who commanded a separate corps on the other side of the Rhine, being about this time defeated by mareschal Broglio, his serene highness thought it necessary to repass that river, as well in order to support the vanquished army, as to meet the reinforcements from England, commanded by the duke of Marlborough, which were now landed at Embden. Accordingly a bridge was thrown over the river at Griethuysen, and the allies passed it on the tenth of August without loss. The season was so far advanced previous to the junction with the British forces, that no military operations of importance ensued during the remainder of the campaign between the two grand armies on the Rhine. On the Weser, the prince of Ysemburg was again worsted by Soubize and Broglio. Prince Fer-

Frederick now entered into winter quarters at Munster, and the French again established themselves in Westphalia. BOOK XII.
1758.

During these transactions the king of Prussia had his hands fully employed in Saxony and Bohemia. After the reduction of Schweidnitz, he began his march at the head of fifty thousand men into Moravia, and laid siege to Olmutz, the capital of that marquisate. Mareschal Daun immediately advanced to its relief; and though he did not think proper to hazard a battle, he posted himself in so judicious a situation, that the Prussians found it extremely difficult to carry on their operations, being themselves kept in perpetual alarm. The garrison also made several successful sallies; and the Austrian general Laudohn having at length intercepted a great convoy of provisions and ammunition, the king of Prussia found himself under an absolute necessity of raising the siege, which he effected with such secrecy and expedition as to have penetrated far into Bohemia before it was known in the Austrian camp that he had lost sight of the walls of Olmutz. Mareschal Daun immediately followed the Prussian monarch into Bohemia, but found himself without an antagonist, his majesty having evacuated that kingdom at the approach of the Russians, who had now entered Brandenburg in

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1758.

two large bodies, commanded by generals Fermor and Browne, and spread terror and devastation wherever they appeared. A detail of the outrages perpetrated by these northern barbarians cannot be read, or related, without horror. In the course of this campaign, they plundered and destroyed fourteen large towns, and more than one hundred villages. The Prussians came up with them at Zorndorf, August 25, when a desperate engagement ensued. The battle began about noon, and lasted till night, when the Russians gave way in great confusion. As the Prussians gave no quarter, the slaughter was terrible. Notwithstanding this defeat, the Russians continued extremely formidable. Upon the retreat of the king of Prussia from Bohemia, mareschal Daun had advanced towards the Elbe, and, being joined by the prince of Deux Ponts at the head of the army of the empire, threatened to surround prince Henry of Prussia, who commanded with much reputation and ability for the king his brother in Saxony: but his force was too weak to stop the progress of the Austrians, who took Konigstein, and established themselves in the strong camp at Pirna. Immediately after the battle of Zorndorf, the king began his march to join the prince; but, upon his arrival, found the imperialists—who had retreated as he approached—so strongly en-

trenched, that they could not be attacked with any prospect of success. However, he gained some trifling advantages, and dislodged a corps of troops posted in the village of Hochkirchen, which was immediately occupied by the Prussian army. But, in the middle of the night of the 14th of October, he was suddenly surprised in his camp by mareschal Daun; and, after a most severe and bloody conflict, maintained amidst all the horrors of darkness and confusion, he was obliged to leave the Austrians in possession of the field and camp. Mareschal Keith, to whose personal and heroic exertions it was chiefly owing that the success of the enemy amounted not to a complete and decisive victory, gloriously fell in the action. The corse of this great man, naked and bleeding, with a cloak thrown carelessly over it, was carried into the church of Hochkirchen, whither M. Daun, general Laschi, and other officers of distinction, assembled after the battle. The question being accidentally asked, whose body it was? Laschi, viewing it with emotion, exclaimed, "'Tis my father's friend! 'tis Keith!"—Struck with the vicissitudes of fortune and the disastrous termination of a life so celebrated in military history, a universal silence ensued; and mareschal Daun himself was observed to shed

King of
Prussia de-
feated by
M. Daun at
Hochkir-
chen.

BOOK XII. tears of generous sympathy. General Keith was
1758. interred with distinguished military honors *.

The Prussian monarch, on this misfortune, retiring into Silesia, the Austrians invested Dresden. On their appearance, the Prussian governor Schmettau set fire to the beautiful suburbs of that city. The king of Prussia, in his answer to the Saxon memorial presented to the diet on this subject, affected to feel the utmost distress and compassion at the situation of the inhabitants; and lamented, in the most pathetic terms, that the necessities of war rendered unavoidable a measure so repugnant to those principles of philanthropy which glowed in his royal breast. His Prussian majesty, after putting a stop to the progress of the Austrian arms in Silesia, and raising the sieges of Neisse and Cosel, returned to the relief of Dresden more formidable than ever, being joined by a strong body of troops, under the generals Dohna and Wedel, the former of whom had been engaged in observing the motions of the Russians, who had by this time, after attempting the siege of Colberg without success, retired beyond the Vistula. The latter had opposed the Swedes in Pomerania. The campaign in that province

* Wraxall's Memoirs of the Court of Berlin, vol. i. p. 183.

greatly resembled that of the last year; for, the Prussian monarch being obliged to withdraw all his forces, excepting those in garrison, the enemy not only recovered every thing they had lost, but made bold incursions into the Prussian territories, and even levied contributions within twenty miles of Berlin: but, at the approach of general Wedel, they evacuated their conquests with great precipitation, and their possessions in Pomerania at the end of the campaign were once more reduced to the city of Stralsund. The Prussian general being now at liberty to co-operate with the king, marched into Saxony, and raised the siege of Torgau; and, being afterwards joined by general Dohna, proceeded to the relief of Leipsic, which was closely invested by the army of the empire; and this design being happily completed, they effected a junction with the king, and advanced towards Dresden; but, at their approach, mareschal Daun thought proper to draw off his forces, and on the 20th of November his Prussian majesty entered that city in triumph: and thus ended the campaign of 1758.

The French began the next year with an act of singular perfidy, in seizing the imperial city of Francfort, which, indeed, was productive of the most important advantages, as it commanded the navigation both of the Maine and

BOOK XII. the Rhine; and here the prince of Soubize
1759. established his head quarters.

Early in the spring, several officers of rank in the allied army distinguished themselves by their activity and courage in beating up the enemy's quarters, destroying their magazines, and defeating various detached corps; particularly the hereditary prince, who, in an action at Meiningen, made three entire battalions prisoners of war: but the general of the allies was disappointed in his grand design of driving the French army from Francfort before the arrival of their expected reinforcements. With this intention, he made, on the thirteenth of April, an attack on mareschal Broglio at Bergen; but, being repulsed in three different assaults, he was obliged at length to retreat with loss: the brave but unfortunate prince of Ysemburg fell in the action. In consequence of this check, prince Ferdinand returning to his former cantonments in Munster, the French army, now under the command of mareschal Contades, advanced northwards, and took possession of Cassel and Gottingen, Lipstadt, Munster, and Minden. The regency of Hanover, alarmed at the rapidity of their progress, sent off the archives of the electorate, and the most valuable effects, to Stade, in order to be shipped for England: and his serene highness,

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finding himself unable to oppose them in the field, encamped with his troops in a strong situation near Minden, where, on the first of August, the French general resolved to attack them. This resolution produced the famous battle of Minden. The French charged with great impetuosity, but met with so warm a reception, that, after a conflict which lasted from dawn of day till noon, they were broken and routed on all sides, and gave way in extreme disorder and confusion. At this critical moment, the prince sent orders to lord George Sackville, who commanded the cavalry of the right wing, which formed a *corps de reserve*, to advance with all possible expedition to the attack; and, had these orders been properly executed, the disorderly retreat of the French army must have been converted into a precipitate flight; but his lordship, unfortunately, not deeming his highness's orders sufficiently explicit, chose to apply to the prince in person for an explanation; by which means, as well as by repeated orders to halt after the march was actually begun, so much time was lost that the cavalry did not arrive soon enough to be of the least service. The allied army, however, without his lordship's assistance, obtained a glorious victory. The English infantry, in particular, commanded by generals Waldegrave

French defeated by prince Ferdinand at Minden.

Disgraceful conduct of lord George Sackville.

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and Kingsley, acquired immortal honor. They not only sustained, with the utmost intrepidity, the repeated attacks made upon them, but, charging the enemy in their turn, totally broke and routed the gendarmerie, carabineers, and the choicest veterans of the French army. In this action M. Contades lost ten thousand men, together with forty-three pieces of large cannon, a great number of colors and standards, and his own equipage and cabinet, containing papers of the utmost consequence. The garrison of Minden immediately surrendered at discretion. The very same day, a separate corps, under the duc de Brissac, was totally defeated at Coveldt by the hereditary prince. The French army now began its retreat to Cassel, which they soon abandoned, and fell back to Giessen, being exceedingly harassed during their march, and suffering much damage. The city of Munster was now the only place in Westphalia which remained in the hands of the French. After in vain attempting to reduce it by a bombardment and cannonade, the allies invested it in form about the beginning of November, when it surrendered upon capitulation.

The duc de Broglie had by this time assumed the command of the French army, M. Contades being recalled with some marks of disgrace.

The military talents of the new general had in the course of the war appeared very conspicuous; but all his efforts to retrieve the superiority lost by the defeat of his predecessor at Minden, proved ineffectual; and he would, in all probability, have been driven beyond the Rhine, had not the exigency of the king of Prussia's situation made it necessary to detach the hereditary prince into Saxony with a large body of troops to his assistance. That heroic monarch had experienced the usual inconstancy of Fortune in this campaign, though it was opened with great *eclat* by prince Henry, who, forcing a passage into Bohemia by way of Peterswald, destroyed the Austrian magazines at Leutmeritz, and from thence penetrating into Franconia, drove the army of the empire before him to Nuremberg, laid the country under contribution, and captured upwards of fifteen hundred prisoners. In the mean time, general Wedel had been sent into Poland to oppose the progress of the Russians, who had begun their march from the banks of the Vistula; but, in an obstinate engagement which took place at Kaye, near Zullichau, the Prussians were defeated with great loss. The enemy immediately advanced into Brandenburg, and made themselves masters of the important city of Francfort upon the Oder. The king

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King of
Prussia de-
feated by
the Russians
at Cuners-
dorf.

of Prussia, extremely alarmed at their success, ordered a detachment of ten thousand men from the grand camp in Silesia to join the army under general Wedel, who had been also reinforced by about the same number under general Finck; and the king took upon himself the command of the whole, amounting to fifty thousand men. The Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, were strongly entrenched at Cunersdorf: but the king's affairs requiring a desperate effort, he determined to attack them in their camp; and, about eleven in the morning of the 12th of August, the action was begun with a heavy cannonade; after which the Prussians charged the left wing of the Russian army with so much vigor, that, after a furious contest of six hours, they forced the entrenchments with great slaughter, and seventy pieces of cannon fell into their hands. The battle was now looked upon as decided; and the king, in the first transports of his joy, dispatched the following billet to the queen at Berlin: "Madam, we have driven the Russians from their entrenchments: in two hours more expect to hear of a glorious victory." But he soon found himself fatally mistaken. The Russian general Soltikoff, exerting all his powers, rallied his troops upon an eminence under cover of a redoubt; and his artillery, which

was still greatly superior to that of the Prus-
sians, was planted so judiciously as to render
his situation almost impregnable. However,
the king was resolved to hazard a fresh attack,
though against the advice of all his generals.
His infantry being repulsed in repeated as-
saults, the cavalry were ordered to succeed to
the charge; but with no better success. At
length the Russian cavalry, and a body of
twelve thousand Austrian horse, under M. Lau-
dohn, who had joined Soltikoff just before the
engagement and had hitherto remained inac-
tive, seeing the Prussians discouraged and ex-
hausted, fell in among them sword in hand
with such fury that in a short time the Prus-
sians were totally routed and dispersed, not-
withstanding the extraordinary efforts of the
king, who exposed his life in the hottest parts
of the engagement, had two horses shot under
him, and his clothes shattered with musket balls.
Nothing but the approach of night could have
saved him from total ruin. On leaving the
field of battle, he dispatched a second billet to
the queen, expressed in these terms: "Remove
from Berlin with the royal family. Let the
archives be carried to Potzdam. The town
may make conditions with the enemy." This
was by far the most bloody action that had
happened since the commencement of hostili-

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ties. Thirty thousand men were left dead on the field, of whom two thirds were Prussians. No less than twelve generals were killed or wounded in this engagement; and the king of Prussia left his whole train of artillery in the hands of the Russians. This, however, was soon replaced from the arsenal at Berlin. And by his indefatigable diligence in recruiting his army, which was further strengthened by the recal of part of his forces from Pomerania, he soon retrieved his importance.

During these transactions, prince Henry had gained several advantages over the army of the empire, which, again entering Saxony, had taken possession of the city of Dresden; and also over the Austrian army co-operating with them, under general Haddick. The prince being at length joined by his Prussian majesty, general Finck was detached with a strong body of forces to cut off the retreat of the Austrians into Bohemia. But this measure proved a most unfortunate one: for mareschal Daun, receiving intelligence of general Finck's remote and isolated position, immediately resolved upon an assault: and, dividing his forces into four columns, he conducted his march with such secrecy and expedition that the Prussians found themselves entirely surrounded before they had entertained the least suspicion of be-

ing attacked. In this emergency they fought with great bravery; but at length, overpowered by numbers and destitute of the possibility of relief, they were compelled, as the commander alleged in his vindication, to surrender prisoners of war, to the amount of nineteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons. But the king refused with indignation to listen to the arguments of general Finck; who did not, indeed, appear actuated by that spirit of heroism which the emergency required. It was at this critical period that the Prussian monarch was joined by the hereditary prince, without whose assistance it was feared he would have found himself unable any longer to cope with such numerous and powerful adversaries. The approach of winter at last freed him from any further apprehensions from the Russians, who retired into their old quarters in Poland. As to the Swedes, they had fortunately been extremely inactive during the whole campaign, and, after some idle and fruitless excursions, had retreated as usual into the neighbourhood of Stralsund.

In spite of all his losses, the king of Prussia still kept his ground in Saxony; and even his enemies could not help expressing their admiration of that heroic fortitude and invincible perseverance which supported him amidst all

BOOK XII. the dangers and difficulties of a situation by
1760. universal acknowledgement unparalleled in the
annals of Europe.

The court of Versailles had made great preparations for a vigorous campaign in Westphalia the ensuing summer. The grand army, under mareschal Broglio, was reinforced to the number of one hundred thousand men; and the count de St. Germaine commanded a separate corps of about thirty thousand. The hereditary prince, who had rejoined the allied army early in the spring (1760), met with a mortifying repulse at Corbach, in a too adventurous assault upon the count de St. Germaine. But he had soon an opportunity of retrieving his honor at Exdorf; where, on the 16th of July, he attacked a numerous body of the enemy under general Glaubitz, who were totally defeated after a very warm action,—five whole battalions being taken prisoners, including the commander, with their arms, baggage, and artillery. Elliot's regiment of light horse appeared for the first time in the field upon this occasion; and, to the astonishment of the veteran troops, charged five different times, and broke through the enemy at every charge.

This advantage was succeeded by another of still greater consequence: for the chevalier Muy, who commanded the reserve of the French

army, amounting to thirty-five thousand men, being ordered to pass the Dymel, with a view to cut off the communication of the allied army (then posted near Cassel) with Westphalia, prince Ferdinand immediately decamped and followed him; and, on the 31st of July, made so masterly a disposition of his forces that M. de Muy, who then lay encamped near the village of Warbourg, found himself at once attacked in flank, front, and rear. The French retreated so precipitately that the English infantry could not arrive in time to have any share in the action; but the cavalry, with the marquis of Granby at their head, distinguished themselves in the most honorable manner.—The general of the allies, however, being obliged, in consequence of this movement, to leave the landgraviate of Hesse exposed to the enemy's attack, mareschal Broglio made himself master of Cassel, and even reduced Minden, Gottingen, and Elmbeck, in the electorate of Hanover.

Notwithstanding the capture of these towns, the superiority acquired by the late victory enabled the English general to detach the hereditary prince on an expedition to the Lower Rhine: which was by no means productive of the advantages expected from it. The city of Cleves, being weakly garrisoned, made little

BOOK XII. resistance; but at Wesel, which place he next
1760. invested, he met with a much warmer reception than he looked for: and his operations also being much retarded by heavy rains, he found it impracticable to carry the place before the arrival of a very superior force, detached from the French army, under M. de Castries, for its relief. The siege being raised, an engagement ensued near Campen, in which the prince sustained considerable loss: notwithstanding which, he repassed the river in the face of the enemy without molestation, and rejoined the main army, which had been ineffectually employed in the blockade of Gottingen. Soon after which, prince Ferdinand retired into winter quarters, leaving the enemy in possession of the whole country eastward of the Weser.

The king of Prussia, on his part, had made surprising exertions during the whole of this campaign. Whilst the two grand hostile armies remained strongly entrenched in the neighbourhood of Dresden, general Laudohn made great progress in the reduction of Silesia, by totally defeating (June 23) a strong body of troops under general Fouquet, who was himself wounded and taken prisoner, and capturing the important town of Glatz, which contained an immense magazine of military stores; after which

he invested Breslau. But count Tavenstein BOOK XII.
the governor, by making a most resolute de- 1760.
fence, gave opportunity to prince Henry of
marching to its relief. Such was the expedi-
tion of the Prussian general, that he marched
one hundred and thirty English miles in five
days: and at his approach Laudohn abandoned
his enterprise, after laying the city in ashes by
a furious cannonade and bombardment, by
which he hoped to intimidate the governor to
a surrender. The king of Prussia himself, after
besieging in vain the city of Dresden, marched
into Silesia, whither he was followed by count
Daun; and advancing to Lignitz, with a view
to effect a junction with the prince, who still
remained at Breslau, he found himself in immi-
nent danger of being surrounded, mareschal
Daun being posted in front, general Laudohn
on his left, and general Lascy on his right; the
grand army of the Russians, under mareschal
Soltikoff, being also on their march to co-ope-
rate with the Austrians. In this emergency
he determined rather to give battle than wait
the attack; and, after taking the necessary pre-
cautions for the safety of his camp, he made a
movement to the left with the greater part of
his forces, in the evening of the 14th of August,
with an intention of surprising general Lau-
dohn, who, in consequence of a plan formed by

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1760.

King of
Prussia de-
feats the
Austrians
at Lignitz.

mareschal Daun, of which his Prussian majesty had obtained previous intimation, was at the very same time on his march to surprise the king. The two armies met about two o'clock in the morning, between the villages of Pfaffendorff and Lignitz, and after a very sharp action, which lasted till six, the Austrians gave ground, and were pursued to a considerable distance: but mareschal Daun, who, in the execution of his part of the plan, had marched to the right of the Prussian camp, finding the tents apparently deserted, and hearing the remote reverberation of cannon, instantly conjectured the nature of the king's manœuvre, and hastened, but in vain, to the relief of Laudohn, the Austrians being previously and totally routed.

By this victory the king opening himself a passage to Breslau, joined his brother prince Henry at Neumarcke, and they immediately began their march to Schweidnitz, now closely blockaded by the Austrians, who retired at their approach with some precipitation to the mountains of Landshut. But while the king and prince triumphed in Silesia, general Hulsén, who had been left in Saxony, found great difficulty in maintaining his ground against the imperial army under the prince of Deux-Ponts. And the Swedes, who had surprised and killed general Manteuffle in the beginning of the

year, now ravaged all Pomerania, without meeting any opposition. But the sufferings of the Pomeranians were inconsiderable in comparison of those which the electorate of Brandenburg, and even the city of Berlin itself, experienced: for a grand detachment of the Russian army, under count Czernicheff, penetrating into the Marche on one side, and a numerous body of Austrians, under the generals Lascy and Brentano, on the other, joined their forces in the neighbourhood of that capital, which being of great extent, and imperfectly fortified, could make but a very feeble resistance; the garrison, to the amount of twelve hundred men, being compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The Russian and Austrian troops no sooner entered the place than they demanded the immediate payment of eight hundred thousand guilders, and afterwards exacted a contribution of one million nine hundred thousand German crowns.

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1760.

Berlin surrenders to the Austrians and Russians.

These exorbitant impositions the inhabitants were obliged to comply with in order to save the city from total destruction. However, neither their compliance, nor the united efforts of the Austrian and Russian generals, could prevent the Cossacks, Croats, and other irregular troops, from being guilty of the most atrocious excesses. Not contented with demolishing the

BOOK XII. public magazines, arsenals, founderies, and
1760. hospitals, many hundred private houses were
broke into and plundered, during the few days
they remained there; for, upon hearing that
the king was in full march to the relief of his
capital, they abandoned the city, and, taking
different routes, laid the whole country desolate
in their retreat. The havoc made by them in
the royal castle of Charlottenburg would have
disgraced an army of Goths and Vandals. The
rich and costly furniture of that splendid pa-
lace was totally destroyed; and even the cele-
brated collection of paintings and statues made
by the cardinal de Polignac, and deposited in
this place, was miserably despoiled and disfi-
gured. The king was followed by mareschal
Daun, at the head of one hundred thousand
men. The Prussian army, after the junction
with general Hulsen, amounted to eighty thou-
sand. Notwithstanding this inferiority, the king
determined to risk a battle; and indeed the
situation of his affairs seemed to render some
desperate effort necessary: for at this time ge-
neral Laudohn was at the head of a numerous
army in Silesia, and the Russians, who still
threatened Breslau, had actually laid siege to
Colberg, whilst the prince of Deux-Ponts, at the
head of the army of the empire, being joined
by general Lascy, had made himself master of

Saxony, and the Swedes continued their ravages uncontrolled in Pomerania. BOOK XII.
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On the third day of November, the whole Prussian army advanced towards the Austrians, advantageously posted at Torgau, upon the banks of the Elbe, their front being fortified with two hundred pieces of cannon: but the king giving his troops to understand that they had no alternative but to conquer or die, they charged the enemy with the most desperate intrepidity. The victory, nevertheless, remained in suspense, till general Zeithen, who had taken a circuit with part of the right wing of the Prussians, fell upon the rear of the Austrian army, which then began to give way, in some disorder; but mareschal Daun receiving a dangerous wound, which obliged him to quit the field, the confusion became general. The darkness of the night, however, favored the retreat of the Austrians across the Elbe, over which they had previously thrown three bridges of boats, leaving the field of battle dearly purchased in the hands of the enemy. In consequence of this defeat, mareschal Daun being under the necessity of recalling his detachments, general Laudohn abandoned Landshut, and his other acquisitions in Silesia. The Russians also, at the approach of winter, which the king styled his best auxiliary, raised the siege

King of
Prussia de-
feats the
Austrians
at Torgau.

BOOK XII. of Colberg, and retired to their cantonments
1760. in Poland, the Swedes into their old quarters near Stralsund, and the imperialists into Franconia; so that the king of Prussia found himself nearly in the same situation as at the beginning of the campaign. That monarch was deservedly regarded, both by friends and foes, as a prodigy of fortitude, genius, and courage: but his uncommon abilities only served to prolong the war; and the inhabitants of the empire at large, who would have been happy had any decisive advantage been gained on either side, could now see no prospect of an end to their calamities.

1761. Early in the spring of 1761, prince Ferdinand opened the campaign with the sieges of Ziegenhayn and Cassel, hoping to reduce them before mareschal Broglio should receive his reinforcements; but the garrisons making a vigorous resistance, and part of the allied army under the hereditary prince being defeated near Heimbach, his serene highness found himself obliged to withdraw his troops and stand upon the defensive. The army under mareschal Broglio being at length recruited, and in a condition to take the field, prince Ferdinand retired behind the Dymel, and established his head-quarters at Paderborn. The duc de Broglio, having passed that river in June, drove

general Sporcken from the post he occupied on the left side, and made himself master of Warbourg and Paderborn, and compelled prince Ferdinand to retire behind the Lippe. On the 15th of July, in the evening, the French army made a furious attack upon the left wing of the allies posted at Fellinghausen, commanded by the marquis of Granby; and being repulsed with considerable loss, they renewed the attack at dawn of day with redoubled vigor; but finding that no impression could be made by their repeated efforts, their ardor began to abate: and at length, upon being charged by the marquis, in his turn, with great spirit, they abandoned the field in confusion, leaving behind them four thousand men dead on the spot.

Immediately after this action, the French generals divided their forces; the prince de Soubize retreating to Dortmund, and marshal Broglio marching back to Cassel. In a short time that general passed the Weser, with an intention of penetrating into the electorate of Hanover; but on the approach of prince Ferdinand he repassed that river with the greater part of his army: however, a detachment, under the command of the count de Broglio his brother, by a forced march, took possession of Wolfenbuttle, and invested Brunswick: but the hereditary prince, flying to the

BOOK XII. relief of his father's capital, obliged the besiegers to relinquish this enterprise. For the rest of the campaign mareschal Broglio remained inactive in his camp: and prince Ferdinand, not being able to force him to a battle, retired into winter cantonments in the vicinity of Munster and Osnaburg.

1760.

The spring was far advanced before hostilities commenced in Saxony and Silesia. Wariness and caution seemed to succeed to that spirit of enterprise and activity which had so long prevailed. The grand armies, on each side, were so strongly posted that neither chose to risk the attack. The imperialists, attempting to enter Saxony, were repulsed by general Seydlitz; but a numerous body of Russians, commanded by general Romanzoff, could not be prevented from penetrating into Pomerania, in July, and investing Colberg by land, whilst it was blocked up by a powerful squadron at sea. Their main army was soon after put in motion, and all the efforts of his Prussian majesty could not prevent its junction with Laudohn; and now the ruin of that monarch was again confidently predicted. If any event could make his affairs apparently more desperate, it was the loss of Schweidnitz, which general Laudohn surprised about this time, by a very brilliant *coup de main*. Prince Henry of Prussia, who commanded in

Saxony, by an uncommon display of military skill, prevented mareschal Daun, who was at the head of a much superior army, from obtaining any advantage; that general was even obliged, in an attempt to storm the Prussian camp, to retreat with considerable loss, soon after which both armies were distributed into quarters of cantonment.

The fatal consequences which had been apprehended from the so much dreaded junction of the Austrian and Russian armies did not, however, take place; and the Russian general soon perceived, or at least asserted, the necessity of separating, in order to cover his magazines in Poland, which were vigorously attacked by a large detachment from the Prussian army under general Platen. But the siege of Colberg still continued with unabating ardor. General Romanzoff seemed even to set the winter at defiance; and, in the prosecution of his design, gave early proofs of those great talents which have since rendered his name so illustrious. At length the place surrendered, December 17, 1761: a conquest of singular importance, as it enabled the court of St. Petersburg, at all times, to send supplies and reinforcements to their armies in Germany by sea; and the Russian general established his headquarters in Pomerania, during the winter, with

BOOK XII. a view of taking the field early in the ensuing
1762. spring.

The French court, resolving to exert their utmost efforts in Westphalia, assembled a vast army upon the banks of the Weser (A. D. 1762), under the prince de Soubize and the count d'Estrées. Prince Ferdinand lay encamped behind the Dymel, watching their motions and waiting the favorable moment for an attack. At length, on the 24th of June, the enemy being then posted at Grabenstein, a disposition was made for that purpose ; the prince himself crossing the river to charge in front, and generals Luckner and Sporcken being severally detached to fall upon them at the same time in flank and rear. This plan was executed with such success, that the French army was thrown into the utmost confusion ; and the French generals, after a short resistance, gave orders for striking the tents, and sounding a retreat ; but such was the impetuosity of the assailants, that in all probability a total defeat would have ensued, had not M. de Stainville, with the most heroic gallantry and presence of mind, collected some regiments, consisting of the flower of the French infantry, with which he made so resolute a stand at the pass of Wilhemsthal, that he effectually covered the retreat of the two marshals, who retired without much loss under

the cannon of Cassel; but the corps under his command was either cut to pieces, or taken prisoners. The marquis of Granby, who commanded the reserve of the allied army, and was closely engaged with Stainville, distinguished himself in a remarkable manner. In consequence of this defeat, the French generals abandoned Gottingen, after demolishing the fortifications, which they had erected at an immense expense, and retired to Melsungen, in order to preserve the communication with Francfort; but on the approach of the prince they thought proper to pass the Fulda rather than hazard another battle, and the post of Melsungen was occupied by the allies.

In the month of July, M. de Stainville, at the head of several regiments of dragoons, fell into an ambuscade at Merschen, and his whole corps was totally routed and dispersed. But the joy occasioned by those various successes was somewhat damped by an unfortunate enterprise of the hereditary prince, who, prompted by youthful impetuosity, attacking with very inferior force the prince of Condé on his march from the Lower Rhine to join Soubize, was not only defeated, but so dangerously wounded that he was rendered incapable of taking any active part in the operations of the remaining part of the campaign.

Death of
Elizabeth
of Prussia
1762.

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1762.

Prince Ferdinand now determined to lay siege to Cassel; and the French generals, perceiving his intentions, made repeated efforts to throw supplies into the place; but were effectually prevented by the vigilance and activity of that able commander. The trenches were opened on the 16th of October, and the operations carried on with such vigor, that, notwithstanding the place was defended with great bravery by the baron de Diesbach, the governor, he found himself obliged to sign a capitulation on the first of November, when the garrison marched out with all the honors of war.

His serene highness intended to have closed the campaign with the siege of Ziegenhayn, which was the only fortress in Hesse now possessed by the French; but his preparations were interrupted by the cessation of arms which took place at this period, immediately on signing the preliminaries of peace between Great Britain and France. Thus ended the military career of that celebrated commander, after he had, in the course of six successive and prosperous campaigns, exhibited to the world the most convincing proofs of his consummate knowledge of the art of war.

Death of
Elizabeth
empress of
Russia.

On the 5th of January, 1762, died Elizabeth empress of Russia, by which fortunate event the most formidable and inveterate of all the

enemies of the Prussian monarch were converted into friends and allies: for her successor Peter III.—a prince of the house of Holstein Gottorp, and a descendant of the eldest daughter of Peter the Great—entertained so enthusiastic an attachment to that hero, that he not only concluded a treaty of peace, but sent express orders to the Russian commanders to co-operate with him; and a body of troops under count Czernicheff actually joined the Prussian army. The Swedes also, by his example, were induced to accede to terms of accommodation.

In the beginning of May, prince Henry, unexpectedly passing the Muldaw, surprised the left wing of the Austrian camp; on which occasion general Zetzwitz was taken prisoner, with fifteen hundred men: after which the prince made himself master of Freyburg; and in the beginning of June repulsed the Austrians, who made a sudden attack upon his camp, with great loss.

In Silesia, the king, now strengthened by the accession of the Russians, as well as by the troops he had withdrawn from Pomerania, advanced towards count Daun, who retired at his approach, and left a free passage for the Prussians, who invested Schweidnitz on the 8th of August, notwithstanding the secession of the Russians; who, in consequence of a surprising

BOOK XII. revolution that had taken place at the court of
1762. St. Petersburg, were no longer at liberty to co-operate with him. This was no other than the deposition of the reigning emperor, by his own consort Catharine of Anhalt, a woman of great talents, courage, and ambition, whose just resentment he had fatally provoked. This enterprise was conducted with wonderful secrecy, resolution, and dispatch. The emperor was indulging himself in the most perfect ease and security, at his country palace of Oranjebaum, when the empress suddenly appearing before it, at the head of ten thousand men, summoned him to surrender. With this demand he instantly complied with the most abject pusillanimity, though he was accompanied by his Holstein guards, and in a condition to have made a vigorous defence; to which he was in vain urged by divers of the officers about his person, and particularly by the gallant marshal Munich, who, at the age of eighty, had recently been recalled from his long exile into Siberia. The czar was immediately sent, under a strong escort, to the castle of Petershoff, where in a few days he was carried off by *a sudden illness*. This revolution was not productive of the least discontent or disorder, in any part of that vast empire; the follies and vices of the late emperor having rendered him the object of the

Death of
Peter III.
emperor of
Russia.

public contempt and detestation. The empress BOOK XII.
Catharine, though she would not grant any as- 1762.
sistance to the Prussian monarch, was by no
means inclined to recommence the war, and
the Russian armies immediately began their
march to their own country.

The siege of Schweidnitz was now carried on
with great vigor: and a mine being sprung by
the besiegers, on the 8th of October, in conse-
quence of which great part of the wall was
thrown into the fossé, and preparations made
for a general assault, count de Guasco, the go-
vernor, thought proper to beat the *chamade*,
and he and the whole garrison were made pri-
soners of war. The imperial and Austrian ar-
mies in Saxony had, during the progress of the
siege, defeated a body of troops under general
Belling, and retaken Freyburg; but prince
Henry, receiving a strong reinforcement from
Silesia, attacked the combined forces under the
command of the prince of Stolberg, at break
of day, on the 29th of October (1762). The
action lasted till two o'clock in the afternoon,
when the enemy being entirely routed, aban-
doned the field of battle, and the town of Frey-
burg, with the loss of five thousand men.

A suspension of arms between the courts of
Vienna and Berlin taking place soon after-
wards, this was the last service performed in

BOOK XII. 1762. the field by prince Henry in the course of this war, in which he had repeatedly displayed all the qualities of an accomplished general. And if the monarch was celebrated for his spirit of enterprise, for a genius fertile in resources, for his wonderful activity, and for a valor almost approaching to desperation, the prince was not less remarkable for his cool intrepidity, his sagacity, his firmness, and vigilance. The suspension of arms was quickly followed by the treaty of Hubertsburg, the most material article of which imported, that all conquests on each side should be evacuated, and peace re-established on the footing of former treaties. Such was the issue of a war in which two hundred and fifty thousand lives were sacrificed, an immensity of treasure expended, and the fairest provinces of the empire reduced to a state of ruin and desolation.

Treaty of
Huberts-
burg.

1757.
Domestic
affairs.
Establish-
ment of a
national
militia.

We are now at liberty to advert to the civil and political transactions by which the administration of Mr. Pitt was distinguished; among the first and most remarkable of which we may reckon the establishment of a national militia: a measure highly popular and patriotic; though the plan itself, which was calculated for the emergency of the occasion, and which has never suffered any essential alteration, must be acknowledged extremely crude,

imperfect, and defective. Nor is it to be imagined that a comprehensive and effectual system of national defence is to be supported at so small an expense as the insignificant sum allotted for this most important purpose, and which is scarcely equal to the usual amount of a retaining fee to a German elector. The number of men was originally fixed by the house of commons at sixty-four thousand, but by the house of lords reduced to thirty-two thousand. The grand and radical defect of this plan is, that a service which ought to be sought as a privilege is imposed as an obligation. This national army is absurdly and arbitrarily selected from the general mass of the community, by lot, or, in other words, by a blind and indiscriminate compulsion; so that it necessarily exhibits a bizarre and fortuitous combination of alacrity and sullenness, of imbecility and vigor. Were regular and reasonable pay allowed to each man, in the intervals of actual service, those who are best qualified to serve would voluntarily and cheerfully enrol themselves, and the kingdom would be defended not by the refuse, but by the choice and flower of the nation. And with proper attention to discipline, these troops might soon be raised nearly or entirely to a level with the regulars of the service. In fact, the standing army of Prussia

BOOK XII. is at this day no other than a well-regulated
1757. national militia, adapted to the circumstances of that country. And were a national militia corresponding to the circumstances of this kingdom once established, the far greater part of the present formidable and unconstitutional standing army might be safely disbanded. And though it is remote from the province of history to descend to specific or minute calculation, it might be easily demonstrated, that the expense of such an establishment would not equal the amount of the sums annually voted by parliament for maintaining possession of the barren rock of Gibraltar, the unjust retention of which, notwithstanding the plain dictates of common sense, and the dear-bought experience of Calais, Dunkirk, Port Mahon, and Tangier, is still with credulous enthusiasm believed essential to the national prosperity and welfare.

In the summer of 1757, the empress-queen recalled her minister, count Coloredo, from London; and at the same time notified to Mr. Keith, the English minister at Vienna, her determination to break off all correspondence with the king of England, declaring that she could not see with indifference his Britannic majesty enter into an alliance with her enemy the king of Prussia, instead of assisting her

with the succors due by the most solemn treaties. BOOK XII.

1757.

Memorial
of the En-
glish am-
bassador to
the States-
General.

The French interest in Holland prevailing at this time in an alarming degree, sir Joseph Yorke, the English ambassador at the Hague, was ordered to represent to the States-General the astonishment of the king of England at the permission given by their high mightinesses for the free passage of a large train of warlike implements and stores through Namur and Maestricht, for the use of the French army; and still more at their tame acquiescence in the surrender of Ostend and Nieuport, by the empress-queen, to the French, in direct contravention of the barrier treaty, and of the treaty of Utrecht, which expressly declare, that no fortress, town, or territory of the Austrian Low Countries shall be ceded or transferred to the crown of France, upon any pretext whatever. The States, however, were not inclined to deviate from their professed system of neutrality; and they alleged, without reserve or hesitation, their inability to prevent these infractions of former treaties, as sufficiently excusing, or rather justifying, their connivance at them.

At the meeting of parliament, December 1757, the king, in his speech from the throne, mentioned the late happy successes in Ger-

BOOK XII. many, and recommended "that his good brother and ally, the king of Prussia, might be assisted in such a manner as his magnanimity and zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve; expressing his firm reliance on the zeal of his faithful commons for the support of the *protestant religion*, and of the liberties of Europe." The answer of the commons was in the highest degree dutiful and loyal; and the supplies, amounting to considerably more than ten millions, voted almost without the formality of a debate—sir Francis Dashwood only venturing to express his total dissent from, and disapprobation of, the measures now adopted*. How the protestant religion was concerned in the disputes of the present belligerent powers, it seemed, in particular, far beyond the reach

* In a debate of the house of commons several years subsequent to this period, Mr. Pitt declared, that every session during his administration he called out, "Has any body any objection to the German war? Nobody would object to it, one gentleman only excepted, since removed to the upper house by succession to an ancient barony (sir Francis Dashwood, now lord le Despencer); he told me he did not like a German war; I honored the man for it, and was sorry when he was turned out of his post." On another occasion he affirmed, "that it was impossible, after the treaties made with the king of Prussia, to leave that monarch to the mercy of his enemies; and that he entered into office with the German war tied like a mill-stone about his neck."

of men of *common understandings* to comprehend. It was notorious that Saxony, long accounted the first protestant power in Germany, was ruined and desolated by the *protestant hero*; that the Swedes, who have ever distinguished themselves by their zeal in defence of the protestant faith, were themselves parties in this pretended confederacy against protestantism; that Denmark and Holland discovered no particular symptoms of alarm on this occasion, though as little inclined to advance the interests, or extend the power, of popery, as Great Britain itself.

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1757.

The only remarkable debate which occurred this session, arose from a motion made for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the duration of parliaments. But it was rejected by a great majority, on pretence that whilst the nation was engaged in such an expensive and dangerous war it would be improper to think of introducing so important an alteration in the form of government. All opposition to the measures of the court under the present popular administration was now at an end. The session was nevertheless, by the pressure of public business, prolonged to the 9th of June (1758); when it was terminated by commission; the lords commissioners assuring the

1758.

BOOK XII. two houses of the deep sense entertained by his
1758. majesty of their loyalty and good affections.

The resentment of Holland was, at this period, inflamed in a very high degree against England, in consequence of the numerous seizures made by the English of Dutch vessels, employed in carrying naval stores and transporting merchandise, the produce of the French islands, to Europe. A memorial, to which was affixed a prodigious number of commercial signatures of the first consequence, was presented to the States-General, in which their high mightinesses are strongly urged to protect the commerce and navigation of the republic by an armed force. In this famous memorial (signed by two hundred and sixty-nine merchants), the memorialists represent “that the violence and unjust depredations committed by English men of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of the subjects of the state, are not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excesses carried to such a height that the petitioners are forced to implore the assistance of your high mightinesses that the commerce and navigation of the republic, which are the two sinews of the state, may suffer no interruption, and be protected in the most efficacious manner, in order that the

being of the state may be preserved, and that it may be kept from complete and final ruin." BOOK XII.
1758.

And the memorialists declare that less cruelty might have been expected from a declared enemy, than they have suffered from the subjects of a power with whom the state is connected by the most solemn treaties of friendship. To a similar memorial presented to her royal highness the *gouvernante*, that wise princess, who inherited the good sense and political sagacity of her mother queen Caroline, replied, "that she beheld the state of trade with much concern; that she was as much moved at it as any of the merchants; and that she had never ceased to exert her influence for its protection: a proof of which was the letter of the king her father, wherein his majesty says 'The affair of the Dutch is now under consideration, and Yorke will speedily receive the necessary instructions for settling it amicably. Some method shall be thought of to curb the insolence of the privateers.'" On the other hand, his Britannic majesty declared, by his ambassador, that he would not suffer an illicit and injurious trade to be carried on under the specious pretext of neutrality. And the wisdom and moderation of the princess *gouvernante* scarcely sufficed to prevent an open rupture. The death of that princess, which took place at the beginning of

BOOK XII. the ensuing year, was the subject of real and
equal regret to both nations.

1758.

Proceed-
ings in the
diet of the
empire.

In the month of August 1758, a decree of the aulic council was published, enjoining all directories of circles, imperial cities, &c. to transmit to Vienna an exact account of those who had disobeyed the *avocatoria* of the empire, issued by a decree of the preceding year, and adhered to the REBELLION raised by the elector of Brandenburg, that their revenues might be sequestered, and themselves punished in their honors, persons, and effects. The king of England, knowing himself to be chiefly aimed at in the avocatory letters and the subsequent violent measures of the court of Vienna, caused to be presented, by his minister baron Gemmingen, a spirited memorial to the diet of the empire, enumerating the important services which he had rendered to the house of Austria, for which he had even exposed his life in the field of battle; in return for which the empress-queen had formed an alliance with France for the invasion of his electorate: and the duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the cause of her imperial majesty, was compelled to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that princess, in defence of his father's dominions: that the king of England was threatened with the ban

of the empire for not complying with the resolutions of the diet for assembling an army, although the conduct of the imperial court rendered it indispensable to his safety to retain his troops for the protection of his subjects. He acknowledged that, in quality of king of England, and for just reasons, he had sent over English troops to Germany, and had taken possession of Embden; for which he was accountable to no power upon earth. And he expressed his hope that the diet would, upon deliberate advice, not only exhort the emperor to recal or annul his recent mandates, but institute such proceedings against the empress-queen, in the quality of arch-duchess of Austria, as she wished to enforce against the king of England, as elector of Hanover." The original aggression of the laws of the empire rested, after all, solely and plainly with the king of Prussia, who was as clearly supported and defended in his contumacy by the king of England; and if these two monarchs, as members of the Germanic body, were at liberty to disobey and contemn the decrees of the diet, the Germanic constitution was no more; no common centre of union remained, by which that vast body could exercise its sovereign authority, or even demonstrate its political existence. The diet, however, wisely chose to refrain, in present circumstances, from

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Death of
George II.
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BOOK XII. the assumption of a prerogative which they
1758. were in no condition to enforce; and the numberless memorials and counter-memorials, published in the course of this war, served to little other purpose than to show the extraordinary degree of animosity and rancor by which the belligerent powers were universally actuated.

Death of
pope Bene-
dict XIV.

In the course of this year died the celebrated Prosper Lambertini, who, on his elevation to the papal chair, A. D. 1740, assumed the name of Benedict XIV. The good sense, candor, and moderation of this amiable pontiff made him scarcely less the subject of esteem and veneration in the protestant than the catholic states of Europe. But, unfortunately, his political influence was too weak to enable him to compose those differences by which Christendom had been so long disgraced and desolated. Far from insisting upon the sacredness of the claims insisted upon by his arrogant and haughty predecessors, this mild and sagacious pontiff, aware that the reign of superstition was passing rapidly away, used customarily to say, "Let us content ourselves with those privileges and prerogatives which the liberality of the temporal powers is willing to leave to us." He was succeeded in the papacy by cardinal Rezzonico, bishop of Padua, who took the name of Clement XIII. And

the new pope found an early opportunity of displaying his weakness and bigotry, by sending a consecrated banner, accompanied with his apostolic benediction, to the Austrian general, count Daun. A recent attempt, scarcely worthy of historic notice, as neither arising from any political cause, nor producing any political effect, had been made on the life of the king of France, by an insane fanatic of the name of Damien, who, in consequence of this crime, expired in torments; the national sufferance, and much more the national approval, of which, in the view of reason and humanity, degraded the character of the most polished and civilised country on the globe to a temporary level with that of the Onondagas and Cherokees. In the autumn of the present year, a royal assassination in all its circumstances much more extraordinary and interesting, the full extent and mysterious nature of which have never been perfectly developed, was attempted on the person of his most faithful majesty, who passing, September 3, in his carriage over a solitary spot near the palace of Belem, was fired at and dangerously wounded by two villains on horseback, one of whom made his escape: the other being put to the question impeached the duc d'Aveiro, president of the palace, the marquis and marchioness of Tavora, the count

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Attempt on
the life of
the king of
France:

and on the
king of
Portugal.

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d'Atouguia, and several other persons of the highest rank, as parties in this conspiracy, who were accordingly tried, convicted, and suffered death on the scaffold. It appearing from undoubted evidence, that the Jesuits, who had been for some time past in disgrace at court, were the principal instigators to this wicked attempt, the effects and property of the whole order were sequestered, and a decree of banishment finally issued against them.

The parliament of England being convened in November (1758), the lord-keeper Henley made a speech to both houses, by command of his majesty, in which the successes of the year were ostentatiously enumerated; and the commons were anew exhorted vigorously to support the king of Prussia, and the rest of his majesty's allies. The expense incurred by England at this time for the payment of subsidies and the maintenance of armies in Germany alone, exceeded three millions sterling; which immense sum, as well as all the other supplies demanded by the minister, were now voted almost as a matter of course. Towards the termination of the session, May 1759, the king informed the two houses, by messages delivered by lord Holderness and Mr. Pitt, the two secretaries of state, that he had received authentic advice of preparations making by the

French court with a design to invade Great Britain: and both houses, in return, assured his majesty of their determination to support, with their lives and fortunes, his person and government against all attempts whatever. Directions also were issued to the lords' lieutenants of the respective counties of the kingdom to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the several acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia. This alarm, however, after the defeat of the French fleet by admiral Hawke, entirely subsided.

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In the month of August, an event of great political importance took place in the death of Ferdinand, king of Spain, who, in consequence of the loss of the queen his consort, had, for many months, renounced all company, neglected all business, and indulged in the utmost excesses of sorrow, under the weight of which he languished, without relief or intermission, to the final termination of his life. He was succeeded by his brother don Carlos, king of the Sicilies—a prince by no means so favorably disposed as his predecessor to the English nation; and who still harboured a deep resentment of the insult offered to his crown and dignity in the former war, by the threatened bombardment of his capital, and the humiliating treaty of neutrality to which he was compelled to ac-

Death of
Ferdinand
II., king of
Spain.

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cede. This monarch previous to his departure from Naples, by a solemn edict resigned the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily to his younger son, don Ferdinand, in contravention and contempt of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which expressly declares, that if the infant don Carlos shall succeed to the throne of Spain, the duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla shall revert to the house of Austria, and the infant don Philip shall succeed to the throne of the Sicilies. But to this article don Carlos had never acceded; and the court of Vienna was not at this time in a situation to enforce the observance of it.

In November 1759, the parliament was again opened by commission, and the lord-keeper again enlarged on the signal successes of his majesty's arms by sea and land; particularly distinguishing the reduction of Quebec and the victory of Minden—declaring, however, by the command of his sovereign, “that, as his majesty entered not into this war from views of ambition, he did not wish to continue it from motives of resentment; that the desire of his majesty's heart was to see a stop put to the effusion of Christian blood, whenever just and honorable terms of peace could be obtained.” It was consolatory to the humane and dispassionate part of the nation, after the sacrifice of

such countless hecatombs of human victims, and the expenditure of so many millions of treasure, at length to hear the sound of peace. But the majority, intoxicated with ideas of conquest, were far from wishing the speedy termination of the war; and from the enormous supplies granted by parliament, amounting this year to no less than fifteen millions, it seemed as if the nation, eager for its own impoverishment and ruin, was willing to purchase glory with bread.

In the course of this session, an effort was made to render efficient the famous parliamentary qualification act of queen Anne, by the introduction of a bill, which, with some modifications, eventually passed into a law. By virtue of the new act, it became necessary for every person elected a member of the house of commons, to deliver in a paper or schedule to the speaker of the house, specifying the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereby he makes out his qualification. But this regulation served only to increase in some degree the trouble, and not at all to diminish the frequency of evasion. The truth is, that the act, which was originally designed to promote the interests of a faction, is so contrary to the sense and to the interests of the nation, that it neither can nor ought to be enforced. Perfect freedom of

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Parliamentary qualification act.

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1760. choice on the part of the people is the only rational security for the integrity of the representative body; and to impose any arbitrary restrictions of this nature, by which they might be eventually deprived of the services of some of the most honest and able members of the community, is an unconstitutional violation of their just and imprescriptible rights*.

The subject which at this time chiefly engrossed the public attention, was the court-martial held upon lord George Sackville, commander of the British forces in Germany, in consequence of the charge brought against him

* This act of queen Anne, originally framed to strengthen the interest of the tory faction, can be justified on no principle of reason or equity; for there is no ground to suppose that integrity bears any determinate *ratio* to property. Men in the higher walks of life are far from being, on that account, the most independent. Having a specific rank to support, and dreading the least degradation from it, they have always much for themselves and families to ask—admitting that they cherish no ambitious ideas of advancement—at least to maintain their accustomed level in society. Whereas, persons in less elevated stations, of inferior fortune, and different habits, more easily learn to moderate their desires, and not unfrequently entertain a real indifference for those honors and riches which it is the lot of so few to possess—

“And which to leave’s a thousand-fold more bitter
Than sweet at first t’ acquire.”

It is true, that absolute indigence is apparently incompati-

of disobeying the repeated orders of prince Ferdinand, to advance with the cavalry, in order to sustain the infantry, and to attack the enemy, already broken, at the memorable battle of Minden. From this charge his lordship was not able to clear himself to the satisfaction of the public. For, though it appeared that there was in the orders transmitted by the different aides-du-camp some degree of variation, perhaps of inconsistency, it was universally acknowledged that the necessity of bringing the cavalry into *immediate action* was strongly and repeatedly urged to his lordship. Colonel Fitzroy*, in particular, after stating the circumstances

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ble with independence: but there is little danger that persons of this description should be returned members to parliament, except the virtue of the individual should in some rare instance be deemed proof against all temptation, as in the case of the famous Andrew Marvel, who is said, after refusing a treasury warrant for a thousand pounds, to have been under the necessity of applying to a friend for the loan of a guinea.

“Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas
Sunt qui non habeant; est qui non curat habere.” HOR.

“Gold, silver, ivory, vases sculptur’d high,
Paint, marble, gems, and robes of Tyrian dye,
There are who have not—and thank Heaven there are,
Who, if they have not, think not worth their care.”

POPE.

* Afterwards created lord Southampton.

BOOK XII. 1760. which occasioned the order, added, with great gallantry, “that it was a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves, and that his lordship, by leading them on, would gain immortal honor.” Admitting, then, the commands of his serene highness to be in any respect doubtful, his lordship might surely have been guided in the interpretation of them by his own discretion; and nothing could be more absurd or unpardonable than to waste those irreparable moments in coldly seeking an explanation of orders, which ought to have been occupied in the vigorous execution of them.

Lord George Sackville degraded by sentence of a court-martial.

In conclusion, the court-martial adjudged that lord George Sackville was guilty of disobeying the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunswic, his commander—declaring him, for this offence, incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatsoever. This sentence was confirmed by the king, who, as a further mark of his resentment, called in council for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy counsellors. Such was the last memorable act of this monarch’s reign and life: for, on Saturday the 25th of October 1760, being at the palace of Kensington, where he commonly resided, he was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, soon after his rising in usual health

Death of the King---

in the morning. Recovering his senses after a short interval, he desired, with a faint voice, that his daughter the princess Amelia might be sent for; but before her arrival he expired, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the thirty-fourth of his reign. During this long period, he had experienced many vicissitudes of fortune; but he lived to see himself the most successful of all the English monarchs. And, after the dark and lowering aspect which his political horizon occasionally exhibited, his sun set at last in a golden cloud.

The character of this monarch it is not easy either to mistake or to misrepresent. Endowed by nature with an understanding by no means comprehensive, he had taken little pains to improve and expand his original powers by intellectual cultivation. Equally a stranger to learning and the arts, he saw the rapid increase of both under his reign, without contributing in the remotest degree to accelerate that progression by any mode of encouragement, or even bestowing, probably, a single thought on the means of their advancement. Inheriting all the political prejudices of his father—prejudices originating in a partiality natural and pardonable—he was never able to extend his views beyond the adjustment of the Germanic balance of power; and resting with unsuspecting satis-

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His character.

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faction in that system, into which he had been early initiated, he never rose even to the conception of that simple, dignified, and impartial conduct, which it is equally the honor and interest of Great Britain to maintain in all the complicated contests of the continental states. It is curious to remark, that the grand objects of the two continental wars of this reign were diametrically opposite: in the first, England sought the aggrandisement—in the second, the abasement, of the house of Austria. And in what mode the consequent advancement of Prussia, at an expense to England so enormous, to the rank of a primary power in Europe, has contributed to the establishment or preservation of that political balance upon the accurate poise of which many have affirmed, and perhaps some have believed, that the salvation of England depends, yet remains to be explained. In the internal government of his kingdoms, this monarch appears, however, to much greater advantage than in the contemplation of his system of foreign politics. Though many improper concessions were made by the parliament to the crown during the course of this reign, it must be acknowledged, that no violation of the established laws or liberties of the kingdom can be imputed to the monarch. The general principles of his administration, both

civil and religious, were liberal and just. Those penal statutes which form the disgrace of our judicial code, were, in his reign, meliorated, and virtually suspended, by the superior mildness and equity of the executive power. And it was a well-known and memorable declaration of this beneficent monarch, “that, during his reign, there should be no persecution for conscience sake.” Though subject to frequent sallies of passion, they were transient and marked by no serious effects. On various occasions, he had given signal demonstrations of personal bravery; nor did the general tenor of his conduct exhibit proofs less striking of his rectitude and integrity: and, if he cannot be ranked among the greatest, he is at least entitled to be classed with the most respectable princes of the age in which he lived: and his memory is deservedly held in national esteem and veneration.

The general state of literature and the arts during this reign it may be thought improper to pass over without a specific, however transient, mention. In the early part of it, a shadow of royal protection and encouragement displayed itself in the countenance given by queen Caroline—a princess of an excellent understanding and much liberality of sentiment—to several learned men, with whom she loved

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State of literature & the arts during the reign of George II.

BOOK XII. freely to converse ; particularly with Dr. Samuel
1760. Clarke, so famous for his theological and metaphysical writings ; and whose speculative opinions, in their full extent, the queen was believed to have deeply imbibed. Hoadley, the friend of this illustrious philosopher, was advanced, through a long series of promotions, to the bishopric of Winchester : and Dr. Clarke himself was, it is said, destined, had not his death prematurely and unexpectedly intervened, to the archbishopric of Canterbury. These great and celebrated ecclesiastics, the brightest ornaments and luminaries of the English church, were anxiously solicitous to advance its true interest, as well as honor, by effecting a further reform, both of its discipline and doctrine, on the genuine principles of protestantism. But the political caution, and not the religious bigotry, of the governing powers, unhappily precluded the attempt.

The prince of Wales also, at a subsequent period, showed a disposition, though restrained in the ability, to become a munificent patron of literature : and Mallet, Thomson, and Young are said to have been particularly distinguished by his bounty. The *Seasons*, and the *Night Thoughts*, are poems of high and deserved celebrity. But the most truly poetical genius of this reign was unquestionably Gray, had his

powers been fully expanded by the sunshine of popular and courtly encouragement; for the flame of genius never burns so bright as when it is fed by the incense of praise. The *Bard*, and *Churchyard Elegy*, are masterpieces of sublime enthusiasm and plaintive elegance.

In the drama, no tragedies appeared which could stand even a momentary competition with the admired and pathetic productions of Otway and Southern, or even the elegant though less impassioned performances of Rowe. In comedy, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar yet remained unrivalled. And of the far greater part of the numerous dramatic pieces of this period it may be affirmed, in the words of Dryden, that "the tragic muse gave smiles; the comic, sleep."

In one species of literary composition, however, and that of the highest importance, the reign of George II. may boast a decided and indisputable superiority: and in the province of history, the names of Hume and Robertson will ever claim the highest rank of eminence. Taking it for all in all, Hume's History of England may perhaps, notwithstanding some striking defects, be justly regarded as the greatest effort of historic genius which the world ever saw. His philosophic impartiality, his profound sagacity, his diligence of research,

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his felicity of selection and arrangement, the dignified elegance of his style, which yet rarely aspires to elevation or energy—all combine to stamp upon this work the characteristics of high and indisputable excellence. With such happiness, and with touches so masterly, are the principal personages of his history delineated, that a more clear and perfect idea is frequently conveyed by Mr. Hume, in a few lines, than we are able to derive from the elaborate amplifications of lord Clarendon, whose historical portraits, though drawn certainly with great accuracy and closeness of observation, are finished rather in the style of the Flemish than the Roman school. With respect to the historian of Charles the Fifth, it is sufficient to say that he has been often highly but never too highly praised. From a rude and indigested chaos of matter he has selected those facts which are truly and permanently interesting, and which alone it imports posterity to know; connecting them with exquisite skill; and adorning his narration with all the graces of a simple, pure, and luminous diction, wholly free from those meretricious ornaments, that tumid pomp, and gaudy display of eloquence, by which later writers have been unfortunately ambitious to acquire reputation.

In metaphysics, Hartley established a system

admirable for its simplicity, for the extent and importance of its practical application, and its perfect correspondence with all the actual phenomena of human nature, upon the firm and immovable foundation of Locke. This system, now rising into general regard and estimation, has been violently attacked by some ingenious writers, whose darts have “faintly tinkled on the brazen shield” of this great philosopher, the theory of whom has been most ably vindicated by the pen of the celebrated Priestley, whose name, at once the glory and the reproach of the English nation, is revered in every part of the globe where the light of science has penetrated; and whose peculiar praise and honor it is, long to have been the object of the malignant animosity, and, as far as the spirit of the times would permit, of the persecution, of the “holy Vandals” of the age.

In philology, morals, and criticism, Bentley, Warburton, and more recently Johnson, shone with distinguished lustre.

In theology, amidst a host of great and respectable names, it cannot be deemed invidious to bestow the highest applause on that of Lardner, who, unassisted by the advantages, and unadorned by the honors, of our national seminaries of education, composed a stupendous work on the credibility of Christianity, no less to be

BOOK XII. 1760. admired for its candor, impartiality, and sagacious spirit of research, than its amazing extent and depth of erudition; and it is not without reason that he has been styled, by a justly celebrated writer, who cannot be suspected of partiality either to the cause or the advocate, “the prince of modern divines.” Foster, Leland, Chandler, Abernethy, Duchal, and many other eminent names, not of the established church, maintained also, with distinguished honor to themselves, by their various learned theological and philosophical writings, at once the reputation of their separate communion, and the authority of that common faith which all denominations of Christians are equally concerned to support. In the pale of the establishment, the venerable Lowth distinguished himself above all his contemporaries, by adorning the profoundest disquisitions in sacred literature with all the charms of classic elegance. And the excellent Jortin, in the justness and comprehension of his views, the clearness and accuracy of his reasonings, attained to high, perhaps unrivalled, pre-eminence. His *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History* abound with the most candid and liberal sentiments; and his *Life of Erasmus* discovers a mind perfectly congenial with that of the illustrious scholar whose portrait he has delineated—the same in-

genuous simplicity, the same urbanity, wit, and polished keenness of satire—in rectitude equal, in fortitude superior. Had Erasmus flourished in our days, Jortin would surely have been his favorite and chosen friend: for we know that his admired and beloved Colet was but the Jortin of a former age. For the famous and incomparable preface prefixed to his *Remarks*, he is said to have been menaced by the high-church bigots of his time with a legal prosecution; but this threat was rendered ineffectual by the moderation of the governors of the church at that period, and particularly of Herring, archbishop of Canterbury—a prelate eminent for discernment, candor, and benignity, and who had declared to Dr. Jortin that he would be to him what Warham had been to Erasmus. It was, however, late in life before the extraordinary merits of Jortin attracted that attention to which they were so well entitled; and he himself truly and feelingly speaks of the patronage said to be afforded to literature by men of rank and fortune, as “a Milesian fable and a fairy tale.”

Before the conclusion of this reign, Reynolds in painting, in sculpture Wilton, began to rise into fame: and the exquisite musical compositions of Handel were vigorously emulated by Arne and Boyce. But to whatever degree of

BOOK XII. perfection science, literature, and the arts, arose,
1760. during even its last splendid and memorable period, the sole and exclusive honor of patronage appertains—not to the court—not to any Mæcenas or Dorset of the age—not to the encouragement derived from academical honors or premiums—but to the taste, discernment, and generosity of the NATION.

END OF VOL. IV.

APPENDIX:

CONTAINING

STATE PAPERS AND AUTHORITIES,

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME.

THE EARL OF WALDEGRAVE TO THE DUKE OF
NEWCASTLE.

MY LORD,

Paris, August 15, 1739.

THE importance and great secrecy of the contents of this letter, oblige me to make use of my own hand, and to send it to your grace directly. Being the day before yesterday at Issy, talking in my usual manner with the cardinal upon the present times, and representing to him in the strongest manner I could, that the only way to shorten the war between his majesty and Spain, was for him not to meddle with it; he made me a pretty extraordinary confidence, of which I am to give your grace an account. Before I begin the relation, it is necessary to observe to your grace, that in order to keep the cardinal in ignorance of what I write, or may now and then presume to advise, at this juncture, I protest to him I am as much for peace as he can be, provided we can get a salvo for our honour, and reparation for our injured property; and he seems so satisfied with what I tell him in this sense, that he frequently asks my private opinion as to means to make up the difference; and it is in such kind of discourse, that I have often opportunities of making judgment of his intentions. It was in a discourse of

his nature that he mentioned the French king's interposition, and his proposing and becoming answerable to the respective courts for the 95,000*l.* and for the withdrawing of our squadrons. Your grace has seen in other letters of mine, how I have treated this matter; and I have since received with great pleasure from your grace, an account of his majesty's gracious approbation of what I have done on that subject. Though he seemed beat out of that project, merely on my opinion that it would be time lost to think of it, yet when I saw him last, he resumed the subject, not, as he said, from himself, but from suggestions from Holland; and in order to convince me it was so, enjoining me to the strictest secrecy, he pulled a small letter out of his drawer, and read part of it, saying it was from one of the most considerable men in Holland, who was of opinion, that if his eminency proposed the payment of the 95,000*l.* and becoming guarantee for it, and the withdrawing of our fleet, both within a short and limited space, the war might still be prevented. This I saw was underlined. The cardinal then read over a little to himself, and coming to another underlined place, he read aloud, and it was to this effect:—That Spain might send out her flotilla under convoy of a French squadron of men of war, and that the English would not attack them. This seemed asserted as a matter out of dispute. Whether it was exactly so in the letter, or turned so by the cardinal, I cannot pretend to say.

The cardinal then looked fully on me, to ask me what I thought of it. I began with the first proposition, and abused the author, whoever he was, that could be stupid enough to imagine we should so much as listen to such a proposal. I urged all the proper reasons that occurred to me on the subject; and the cardinal allowed I was right. He asked me what I thought on the second part, about a French escort to the flotilla. I said his Dutch correspon-

dent must be a very odd one, to imagine such an expedient ; that I did not pretend to be versed enough in maritime laws, to say what might be prescribed in such cases, or if any case of this nature had ever existed, but that I should be sorry to see one started now ;—that I was persuaded a proper regard would be shewn on all occasions to the French flag ; but that, at the first aspect, I thought a neutral squadron protecting the goods and effects of an enemy, could be looked upon but as an auxiliary to the enemy, hired by the enemy for that purpose, and consequently ought, by the rules of war, to be treated as an enemy, and acted against as such, if he should in the open seas pretend to oppose our taking our enemy's effects. I mentioned the case of a majority in number of an enemy's subjects on board a neutral ship, destroying the neutrality of such ship, and making it liable to be taken ; concluding from thence, that the majority of power and strength ought to have the same effect. The cardinal turned it off as an odd project, which he did not think of putting in execution ; and that what he threw out was more to convince me of there being more dispositions in Holland to peace, than to join with us in this war against Spain.

Your grace will easily believe that I was very curious to find out who this famous letter came from, and to whom it was writ, for, by the style, it was not writ to his eminency. I suspected immediately, and I am persuaded the letter was wrote to Van Hoey, and by him left with the cardinal. If my eyes did not fail me exceedingly, it was signed Lynden. The character is small, and I had but a glimpse on the turning over a sheet, for the cardinal seemed exceedingly cautious lest I should look upon his paper, and I was as careful not to give him any cause of suspicion. I know this M. de Lynden is great with Van Hoey, and carries on a private correspondence with him. Your grace will be better able, from the knowledge you

may have of his dispositions, to judge whether he is a likely person to inspire and advise notions so contrary not only to our interest, but to the mutual welfare of his majesty and the States, whose interests seem at this juncture inseparable from one another. I am persuaded I need not put your grace in mind of the delicacy of this intelligence: the manner I came by it, the possibility that my eyes may have deceived me, and the probability that nobody else could know of the letter but myself, make it of the utmost consequence at this time, and in my station, that I should not be suspected. Few things go to Holland but what Fenelon finds out, and sends back here. Your grace's prudence will, I dare say, obviate all my fears. I gave a hint of this by the post to Mr. Walpole, without naming names. Your grace will see by the inclosed copy of my letter to his excellency, what I say to him on the subject.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO HORACE WALPOLE.

PRIVATE.

A. D. 1739.

LONDON, *August 3-14, 1739.*—You will learn by the accounts that are sent you from the office, how matters stand with us in Spain and France, where they are both fully apprized by what has happened, that our fleets are under hostile orders with regard to Spain. And as the Azogues and Buenos Ayres ships are daily expected home, it cannot miss observation, that they may probably fall in with some of our squadrons, whether they are ordered into Cales or the Bay of Biscay. The cardinal has, in one of his usual conversations to lord Waldegrave, mentioned the Azogues as an affair he hopes we will not think

of; but not as a matter of form, but purely confidential to lord Waldegrave. He declares himself under no engagement with Spain; but strongly insinuates what we may apprehend, if we attack Spain. The letters that came from France this week, go further in that style than ever; and I think it ripens apace.

Cambis is expected here very suddenly, and I think his orders will open the whole scene; for I imagine he will have orders to insist, that we shall neither take the Azogues, nor flota, or galleons coming home, nor stop the flota that is now preparing to go out, which France, as the cardinal has already said, has so great a share in, that they cannot suffer the wealth and treasure of France to be taken, though on board Spanish ships.

By the intelligence from 101 (Bussi), it is expressly said, that Fenelon has orders to propose to the states a joint mediation with France, between us and Spain. Surely they will not immediately accept the office of mediators, to put themselves out of the capacity of allies.

But as this grand affair seems now to draw to a sudden crisis, forgive me if I think you should not leave your present station, for some weeks, at least, until it is more certainly seen what we are to expect. To leave an embassy, where you [have been so long employed, a little abruptly at this critical hour, may not be thought so right. The parliament will certainly meet this year in November, before which time I should be very sorry not to have you here.

HORACE WALPOLE TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE.

DEAR BROTHER,

Hague, Sept. 1, 1739.

YOUR last letter gave me much uneasiness, for more reasons than one. The disappointment of my friend Tre-

vor affects me greatly, not only on account of my affection for him, who has many good and rare qualities, but for the sake of the public. The situation and conduct of the states is of that consequence to England, and to the balance of power in Europe, that this place cannot be without an agreeable minister from England. Can we find out, you'll say, nobody fit for such an employment but one man? I really think not, unless you are resolved—censure the vanity of my saying it—to keep me here always. I must own I am made to believe by some, that my continuance here is much desired, and that the apprehension of my departure is extremely dreaded. That is a good sign in those who are well inclined; but whether that will have any great effect, to make these people act to any purpose, I cannot tell.

I am extremely obliged to the lord chancellor, for his compliment, in comparing my continuance here to the mission of lord Marlborough, upon the breaking out of the last war. But the case and circumstances are by no means the same. King William, perceiving that he could not live long himself, sent his lordship into Holland, both as ambassador and captain-general of the British forces, that he might make it the interest of the person who would certainly have the credit and power in queen Anne's court, to pursue the war that was necessary for preserving the liberties of Europe. King William had no other object but the liberties and balance of Europe. But, good God! what is the case now? I will tell you in confidence: little, low, partial electoral notions, are able to stop, or confound the best conducted project for the public.

I plainly see that all Europe will soon be in a general combustion, and that France must be absolutely master, unless some plan of united measures be formed to prevent it; and I see as plainly, that if any advantage be proposed for any prince or power, whose assistance may

be necessary for the common cause, we shall never agree to it, without some advantage is to be given to us as elector. We have jealousies of one power, aversions to another prince, contempt for this or that state; we have pretensions or desires of our own, that must either be made ingredients in any scheme for the public good, or that scheme must not go on. I cannot at present foretell in what instances this will be the case, but experience has shewn that this has been the case, and that we must always expect it.

I cannot justify the emperor's giving into the war against the Turks; but his engagements with Russia, and the danger of driving that power into the interest of France, made it, I am assured, necessary—which certainly was a consideration of a public nature. His Imperial majesty obtained the consent of all the princes of the empire to give their contingent; but one considerable elector having refused to give his, others of that rank followed his example, and the princes that had even agreed to give their contingent to carry on the war, refused on that account to pay it. The emperor is now quite undone; he has neither men nor money, and perhaps the sums he proposed to get from the empire, might have saved him; and I dare say, if he is forced to make another campaign, we shall be as backward in giving our contingent, unless something be done for us in favour of our pretensions to Ostfrize, which will be impracticable: and which, if it could be done, would disoblige the king of Prussia, the king of Denmark, and the States-general—all powers necessary for preserving the liberties of Europe, though the first is, I am afraid, lost.

The States-general look upon the town of Embden, in Ostfrize, as the only barrier they have on that side for the security of three provinces. They have, and have had 100 years for that purpose, a garrison in that town by the consent of the people, but on condition of being protect-

ed by the States in their privileges against the encroachments of their prince; and England ought, as well by interest as by obligation, to support the States in this affair. The emperor has of late supported the prince against the people, to vex the States; but ever since the last treaty of Vienna, he has, by a formal declaration, promised to put an end to the differences there. In order to do that, this matter has been committed to the cognizance of the elector of Hanover. His sub-delegates have been appointed, and have lived in the country a long while at the charge of the people, without doing any thing, but in concert with the Imperial court to favour the pretensions of the prince of Ostfrize, in opposition to the people, which is understood to be done here with a view that the prince of Ostfrize may favour the pretensions of the elector of Hanover to the succession, which the States are extremely jealous of, and are at this time extremely uneasy at this conduct.

If we could have consented that the king of Prussia might have had some part in the succession of Berg and Juliers, that affair might have been put in an amicable way of negotiation; but the notion that no prince should have any thing, unless we should get something too, destroyed all schemes that might have accommodated that troublesome dispute: and now France has certainly found means to gain the court of Prussia by some engagements in that respect, and will keep him in case of a war. If France shall come to quarrel with the maritime powers, by threatening one or the other first, in which case we must each make it a common cause, and consider of measures and troops to be provided, I am persuaded that some motive in the advantage of the Hanover troops will interfere, and certainly delay, if not disappoint the reasonable measures and plans that may be upon the *tapis* for the public good; and therefore, although I think we are undone if we shew the least want of spirit and

vigour at this juncture, here or in France, yet unless some means can be found out to prevent our little electorate views from interfering with the common cause, I cannot see what good I can do here. I shall be pushed by certain questions and propositions, which I shall not be able to answer, and which if remarkable, and represented by me in my dispatches, will have no other effect than that of increasing displeasure in England. In the mean time, nobody has credit or courage enough to speak plainly upon these heads, in their respective departments; and if you venture to do it sometimes, 'tis in a cursory manner. You receive a short answer; domestic affairs employ your time and your thoughts, and the foreign mischief continues.

This is too notoriously the case, and I am afraid will ever be so much the case, that I see no remedy for it. In the mean time those that serve abroad have no comfort: they are liked and disliked, not according to their fidelity and diligence, but by humour and fancy; and, were I not your brother, you would soon hear, nay, perhaps, you do hear of me, with my friend Trevor, in the list of those who are of no consequence but to receive that pay which is grudged them; and therefore I must freely own to you, that dangers and difficulties from abroad do not discourage me, but the not seeing the least likelihood of right measures being pursued at home to obviate or withstand them, although such measures might be found out—that is what disheartens me. And to speak plainly at once, I have been often upon the point of taking a resolution not only to retire from hence, but from all public employment and business. There is but one reason in the world that has prevented me from doing it, which, perhaps, you would not believe if I told you.

While I am employed I will serve with the utmost diligence, but I see nothing but disgrace and disappointments; and, as the world ever judges by events, and not

from conduct, I am sensible of what I am to apprehend from my continuance here. However, I should be glad to know how long this servitude is to endure, that I may take my measures accordingly.

HORACE WALPOLE TO LORD CHANCELLOR HARD-
WICKE.

EXTRACT.

A. D. 1739.

COCKPIT, *October 14, 1739.*—Having, since I had the honour of seeing your lordship, perused the draft of a declaration [of war against Spain, which the duke of Newcastle had been pleased to send me for that purpose, I must own to you very freely, that I wish it had been digested in another method. For although the omission at first of the most material stipulation in the convention, is in a great measure, by the insertion of some words, supplied, but not so fully as I could wish, yet there are, with humble submission to better judgment, in my poor opinion, some things in the sequel of the draft, not proper for a declaration of war to be made in the king's name; and other things largely expatiated upon, which if proper, ought to have preceded the nomination of the convention, and which are liable, in the place they now stand, to disagreeable inferences with respect to the convention, and to our proceedings in parliament last year.

Surely, my lord, the violations committed contrary to the treaty of 1670, as well as those contrary to the treaty of 1667, if they are to be mentioned, should have been mentioned in the draft antecedently to what is said there of the convention as the grievances complained of; and that those causes of complaint are to be removed, is

actually stipulated in the convention, and all infractions contrary to treaties, and amongst the rest, those of 1667 and 1670, are by the convention to be redressed. Therefore whatever is to be mentioned as done contrary to those treaties, and which were to be removed or prevented for the future by the express orders of the convention, should have been stated in the first place, and the violation of that convention should have followed, to shew that Spain would not execute what had been thereby stipulated, nor redress in consequence the notorious grievances complained of on our part, although she had solemnly agreed to do it. For indeed, my lord, all the ratiocinations about the groundless pretensions of Spain to stop, seize, &c. as well as the infractions relating to commerce, contrary to the treaty of 1667, are stated in the draft as independent of the convention, and in a manner as if that treaty had taken no care at all of them; and thus stated, are made such strong provocations, that the reader will be immediately led to think and say, “why were not these injuries revenged sooner?” But had our grievances from unjust depredations, &c. been placed in the front of the declaration, and the violation of the convention, calculated not only to procure satisfaction for past damages, but to prevent the like injuries for the future, immediately followed, his majesty’s reasons for declaring war against Spain would have appeared in as strong a light, with this difference only, that the administration would have continued to act conformably to themselves; their proceedings in council and in parliament would have had an immediate and natural connexion in the whole series of the affair, from the beginning to the end.—Whereas, my lord, without being partial to my brother, who, I can assure you, knows nothing of this letter or observations, and without giving into his strong inferences about his grace’s unkind intentions in forming the draft in this manner, I can’t forbear saying, that I was

struck, extremely struck, with the perusal of it, as what seemed to favour and support the notions of some favourite lords to his grace, that are in opposition, rather than to justify the advice and proceedings of those with whom he is tied in the ministry, and with whom he has concurred in the council and management of affairs.

This letter shews in a striking point of view, the jealousies, divisions, and animosities, which prevailed in the administration at this period. As the declaration alluded to was, no doubt, drawn by the duke of Newcastle, in concert with lord Hardwicke, the strong suspicions entertained by the Walpoles, of a deep and artful design to pay court to the opposition, and the public at large, by throwing an unmerited odium upon them, must rest with at least equal force on the chancellor as the secretary.

EDWARD WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

EXTRACT.

LONDON, *January* 9, 1741-2.—For fear your grace should not be informed the earliest possible of a transaction of great consequence, I think it my duty to trouble you with it. The king, a few days ago, sent lord Cholmondeley to bishop Secker, authorized by him to desire the bishop would go to the prince of Wales, and let him know, not by way of message in form, but only as an intimation, that if he would return to his duty, and lay himself at his feet, asking his pardon, and in writing acknowledging his offences in general terms only, he would grant him his other 50,000*l.* a year, pay all his debts, and not give him the least trouble about any of his ser-

vants, friends, or dependents, but would receive them all as friends, in common with the rest of the court; and never inquire any farther into any part of their former conduct. I must observe, that the offering to pay the debts, was not mentioned till the bishop asked if that was not to be done; to which lord C. answered, that it was not part of what he was directed to say; yet from what the king had been pleased to intimate several times in the course of his conversation, he would take upon him to answer for it, that the prince might understand it so, and depend upon it. To all this the prince ordered the bishop to say, that he would listen to no proposals of any kind till sir Robert Walpole was removed.

The heads of the prince's party are outrageous, and think this stroke has put us under the greatest difficulties. I am much concerned, though no way dismayed, at this event.

SIR ROBERT WILMOT TO THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

EXTRACT.

QUEEN-SQUARE, *January 12, 1741-2.*—Though the opposition at present triumphs in a majority upon the division about the Westminster election, when it was imagined sir Robert would exert his utmost strength; though Nugent carried with him a body of suspected friends, in order to keep them out of harm's way, as they call it; notwithstanding lord Gage and Doddington have laid their heads together, and that his lordship offers even to stake considerable wagers, that all the stories he tells are true; and though Lyttelton and Pitt are determined to blow up Carleton-house, rather than not have a chance to do more mischief;—this same opposition, with many

heads, seems to be neither so powerful, nor so unanimous as it would fain appear. Sir Robert was to-day observed to be more naturally gay and full of spirits than he has been for some time past. The same observation was likewise made of Mr. Pelham, whose steadiness seems to be that excellent mortar that binds my lord president, my lord steward, my lord chancellor, and even his grace of Newcastle himself.

It is generally agreed that sir Robert will never give up, nor bring any body in, if he can possibly avoid it, and that his majesty will never forsake him; that the tories would come into any terms, and that the patriots, being sensible of that, are so afraid of being left in the lurch, that they only wait for the first good offer. It is well known that Pulteney carries with him but four members, and that lord Carteret has few followers besides the Finches. Pulteney's terms seem to be a peerage, and a place in the cabinet council, if he can get it. How far Mr. Pelham's friendship for him may facilitate either of these things, I will not pretend to judge. If somebody must be brought in, it's thought lord Carteret will unsay all he has said, and be heartily glad to laugh at the great Argyle. People do not think lord Hay and his grace hate one another so heartily as they pretend. I cannot put an end to this subject without saying, there never was a time when your grace's presence and counsel were more necessary, or more wished for.

SIR ROBERT WILMOT TO THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

JANUARY 23, 1741-2.—The minutes of the house of commons will inform your grace of the extraordinary proceedings in that house on the 21st instant. I must

take the liberty to congratulate your grace, particularly upon an event of that day, which cannot but be very satisfactory to you, when two votes would have certainly given to this nation one-and-twenty tyrants. I have good reason to believe it was entirely owing to my lord Hartington, that sir Thomas and sir James Lowther voted for their king and country. Never was a plot better concealed. Some of sir Robert's friends actually went away early, not expecting any thing. Others never came. The opposition were collected to a man, but I believe not above one-and-twenty knew for what. Sir Robert exceeded himself; he particularly entered into foreign affairs, and convinced even his enemies that he was thoroughly master of them. Pulteney, sir Robert actually dissected, and laid his heart open to the view of the house.

As the bomb is burst and no mischief done, I hope the danger is over; and, after a proper question has been carried by fifteen or twenty, some of the sons of Fergus and others will certainly desert a vanquished starving army.

SIR ROBERT WALPOLE TO THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE.

MY LORD,

London, Feb. 2, 1741-2.

I WAS unwilling to miss this opportunity of the messenger that carries back the Irish bills, to give your grace an account, by a safe conveyance, of what will immediately happen within the space of three or four days. It is determined that the king shall to-morrow, when he passes the malt act, direct the two houses to adjourn themselves for a fortnight, to give time for settling a new administration. I shall go up immediately to the house of peers, with the title of earl of Orford. Lord Wilmington will

be put at the head of the treasury, but what further steps will be taken, are yet by no means settled among themselves.

To give your grace a short view of this great revolution, I must inform you that the panic was so great among what I should call my own friends, that they *all* declared my retiring was become absolutely necessary, as the only means to carry on the public business, and this to be attended with honour and security, &c. This was fixed with the duke of Newcastle, lord chancellor, lord Carteret, and Mr. Pulteney, but the king has declared lord Wilmington my successor, which leaves the presidentship open, so that lord Carteret can only be president, except one of the secretaries be removed for him. This had fallen upon the duke of Newcastle, if I had not prevented it. But I am of opinion that the whig party must be kept together, which may be done with this parliament, if a whig administration be formed.—The prince was not acquainted with this sudden step till this morning, and I have just heard he receives it in a proper manner.

Your grace may easily imagine that a great deal more might be said upon this subject than is proper to commit to paper; and when I have an opportunity, I shall explain some things to you which are scarce credible. I believe the duke of Argyle, lord Chesterfield, and lord Cobham, have not been in the secret, and into what share they will let them, and how go on without satisfying them, I do not see; and all that I shall say is, that they who thought they had but one obstacle to remove to make all things easy, I believe before they have begun their scheme, encounter such difficulties that they are almost at a stand: but during the recess the scene must open to shew the actors.

I shall be very glad when the business of Ireland will permit your grace to come among us. Few honest men are to be found, and still fewer dukes of Devonshire. One

of the greatest prides and pleasures of my life is, that I have the honour to call you my friend; which is a title that I will never forfeit nor abandon. As occurrences happen I will be watchful, and may still have more opportunities of observing than it will be prudent for me to make use of. I will conclude with acquainting you, that the king has behaved towards me with more grace and steadiness than can ever be enough acknowledged, and never yielded at all to the change till I made it my desire.

MARQUIS OF HARTINGTON TO THE DUKE OF
DEVONSHIRE.

EXTRACT.

LONDON, *February 2, 1741-2.*—I received your letter last night, and send this by the messenger who sets out with the bills to-night. Sir Robert told me that he would write to you also; but I find he is extremely impatient to have you come, and thinks that you will be of great service to him. He has hitherto kept up his spirits tolerably well, but I think I can perceive that he is now uneasy; and indeed I am afraid he has very good reason to be so; for I really believe, and so do most of his friends, that the other party in three weeks time must get a majority by the alterations in elections, for we have a great many people that have declared they will not attend them any more. Lord Middlesex for one, and lord John has hardly attended any yet. We hope we shall secure Chippenham to-day.

London, February 4, 1741-2.—I was with sir Robert Walpole this morning; he seems to bear his change of fortune with great spirit. I own, for my part, I never saw a more melancholy scene than his levee was this morning.

It was the fullest that ever was. I hope now he will be above the reach of all his enemies, though the jacobites, and people of that complexion, were very warm yesterday in the house of commons, and declared that they did not yet despair of having his life; but sir Robert told me that he had wrote you a full account when the bills went, that it will be unnecessary for me to say any thing more on this subject. They say, and I had it from his son, that when he took leave of the king and kneeled down, the king burst into a flood of tears, and expressed great concern at parting with him.

SPEAKER ONSLOW'S REMARKS, &c.

EXTRACTS.—VIDE COXE'S STATE PAPERS,

A. D. 1742.

A REMARKABLE event happened at this time (1742), which contributed very much to the fixing Mr. Walpole's interest and power then with the king, and manifesting fresh proofs of his abilities and usefulness as a minister. It was the management of a discovery made by the regent of France to the government here, of a plot in favour of the pretender, formed and carried on principally by Atterbury, bishop of Rochester, a man of great parts, and of a most restless and turbulent spirit, daring and enterprising, though then very infirm; and capable of any artifice, but proud and passionate, and not of judgment enough for the undertakings he engaged in. His views were, not only to be the first churchman, but the first man also in the state, not less than Wolsey, whom he admired, and thought to imitate. He had long been projecting this revolution, but went now upon the foundation of the discontents in the kingdom, arising from the South Sea

transactions in the year 1720, which were still fresh in the minds and hearts of the people.

In the proceedings in the house of lords against the bishop, Mr. Walpole appeared as a witness for the government, to some things which had been solemnly denied by the other. The bishop used all the art his guilt would admit of, to perplex and make Mr. Walpole contradict himself; but he was too hard for the bishop upon every turn, although a greater trial of skill this way scarce ever happened between two such combatants. To say the truth, the bishop sunk under the weight of his guilt.

When Mr. W. had thus, by the unravelling of this plot, and punishing the principal offenders, established his own credit with the party in general, and as he hoped with his master too, he believed himself to have a fair prospect of establishing his own power, which, as he built upon a whig-party bottom only, he laboured all he could to unite those to him who had been peculiarly dependant on my lord Sunderland. Some he succeeded with, but not with all, and of them, several remained in their employments whom he could not remove, or did not dare to attempt, because of the interest they had with the king through the means of the Germans; and this body of people, small, but of considerable rank, remained his enemies to the time of the king's death, waiting and watching for every opportunity to ruin him, which, however, it is most undoubted they could not have done, without ruining at the same time the whig cause and party. But they thought otherwise, and now began something of the whig opposition to his power, which grew afterwards to be so troublesome and formidable to him. It was at first made up chiefly of such of my lord Sunderland's creatures as he could not attach to him; but it had very soon the addition of some others, from various views and motives.

He who first endeavoured to form this opposition into a system, or regular method of proceeding, with a view only to ruin Mr. W. and for that purpose to unite people of every character and principle, and in which he took the most indefatigable pains, was Mr. Daniel Pulteney, in all other respects almost, a very worthy man, very knowing and laborious in business, especially in foreign affairs, of strong, but not lively parts; a clear and weighty speaker, graceful in his deportment, and of great virtue and decorum in his private life; generous and friendly. But with all this, of most implacable hatred where he did hate, violent, keen and most bitter in his resentments; gave up all pleasures and comforts, and every other consideration to his anger.

This animosity to Mr. W. arose from his intimacy with lord Sunderland, to whom he was brother-in-law, by having married the sister of my lord Sunderland's last wife. He was in the depth of all that lord's political secrets, as far at least as he trusted any body, and was designed by him to be secretary of state, in the scheme he formed of a new administration, if he had lived long enough to have once more overset Mr. Walpole and my lord Townshend. But my lord Sunderland's death putting an end to the other's hopes, so soured his mind, that from the moment of his disappointment, I verily believe he scarcely thought of any thing else, but to revenge it in an opposition to him who had been the chief opponent of his friend and patron.

He was the person chiefly who settled his kinsman Mr. Pulteney, afterwards earl of Bath, in this opposition.

Whatever suspicions Mr. Daniel Pulteney might lie under, of entering into some dark and dangerous designs against the government itself, it is most certain the other had never any thoughts that led to jacobitism.

He was without dispute a person of very eminent endowments, rather natural than acquired, although not

without the last, but with a mixture of such natural defects and weaknesses too, that no time I believe can produce an instance of a man of so variable and uncertain a mind, who knew not that he was so, and never designed to be so.

He had the most popular parts for public speaking that I ever knew ; animating every subject of popularity with the spirit and fire that the orators of the ancient commonwealths governed the people by : was as classical and elegant in the speeches he did not prepare, as they were in their most studied compositions, mingling wit and pleasantry, that he would overset the best argumentation in the world. He usually had the *occasional hearers* in the house of commons, and to that audience he generally spoke, and by them established his general fame, as long as his talents were employed against ministers, courtiers, power and corruption. He was undoubtedly a very extraordinary person, and in his private life free from common vices, with a sense of religion even to devotion.

Another person who acted a very considerable part in this opposition, was sir William Wyndham, as a leader of the tories, or such of them at least who were not averse to come with their party into power and offices under the present royal family. In the latter part of queen Anne's reign, he had been secretary at war and chancellor of the exchequer, though a very young man, by the favor of my lord Bolingbroke, with whom he lived in an intimacy of pleasures as well as business ; and from his attachment and gratitude to him, which he ever preserved, and from party violence and the heat of his youth, had engaged in the rebellion of 1715, but escaped any punishment except that of a short confinement, by the consideration then had of the noble family he had married into, and who had great merit with the king and his family. He continued, however, in all the measures of his party against the government, and by frequent speaking in pub-

lic, and great application to business, and the constant instruction he still received from his friend, and as it were his master, especially in foreign affairs, he became, from a very disagreeable speaker, and little knowing in business, to be one of the most pleasing and able speakers of his time; wore out all the prejudices of party, grew moderate towards the dissenters, against whom he once bore a most implacable hatred, studied and understood the nature of government, and the constitution of his own country, and found such a new set of principles with regard to the public, and from them grew to think that the religion and liberties of the nation so much depended on the present family on the throne, that he lost all confidence with the jacobites, and the most rigid of the tories.

He was, in my opinion, the most made for a great man, of any one that I have known in this age. Every thing about him seemed great. There was much of grace and dignity in his person, and the same in his speaking. He had not the vivacity of wit and pleasantry in his speeches, but there was a spirit and power in his speaking, that always animated himself and his hearers, and with the decoration in his manner which was indeed very ornamental, produced not only the most attentive, respectful, but even a reverend regard to whatever he spoke*. He was generally serious, always decent, never positive, and often condescending, though sometimes severe and pointed. He had certainly great notions, and appeared to have a high regard to the principles of honour and justice. It has been said, that he was haughty and passionate. Those who spoke most of this, took their thoughts of him chiefly

* A striking instance of the high respect paid to sir William Wyndham, appeared in one of the debates, which related to the convention. In the midst of a speech, being confused, he turned to the speaker, and said, "Sir, I must beg leave to recollect myself," he then sat down. A profound and respectful silence ensued for some minutes, when sir William again rose, and continued his speech with his usual animation and energy.

from what they remembered of him in his younger days, when it is very true he had too much of this temper. But as far as I could observe, he was much changed in this, as he was in his principles and other things; and surely no man in general was ever less in his advanced age of what he had been in his youth, than he seemed to be.

The next person in the house of commons whom I shall mention, and gave much disturbance there to sir Robert Walpole, and his administration, was sir John Barnard, one of the members for the city of London, and the most eminent man among them: not for fortune, which he seemed to have no appetite for, beyond a competency for his rank and fashion, which was that of a merchant by profession, and of the great offices in the city, all of which he had passed through. But his consideration arose from his own intrinsic worth and abilities, unassisted by any collateral advantages whatsoever: for he had neither birth, alliances, riches, or stations in the government, to forward him; but was himself, if ever any man was, the worker out of his own true fame. Nor had he the advantages of learning, language, or manner, to ornament or set off his natural or acquired endowments, the latter of which lay chiefly in the knowledge of trade, its foundation and extent, and of the whole circle of taxes, funds, money and credit; in all which he had more sagacity, acuteness, force, and closeness of argumentation, better and more practicable notions, than almost any man I ever knew; with a disinterestedness as to himself, that no temptation of the greatest profit, or very high station (for such he might have had) could have drawn him from the very retired and humble life he generally chose to lead in a neighbouring village to London, from whence he only came as he was occasionally called to any business of importance in the city, or in parliament; in the first of which he was a great magistrate, and in the other of true weight and influence. He was besides of a very regular and religious

life, without shew or affectation, as in his public deportment he seemed to have made the best principles of both parties to be the guide of political acting, so that he was in truth one of the greatest examples of private, and in general, of public virtue, that this age has produced; and had a popularity arising from that, which, though he did not court or cherish in the way it is usually got and kept up, was more universal and lasting than that of any man of his time.

But among all his great qualities, he had some blemishes, rather from his constitution, however, than his will or design. He was of a very warm temper, too soon wrought up to passion, and when under that operation, was often deprived of his judgment, and even of his usual discernment. He was likewise too persevering and tenacious of his opinions, and when in the wrong, would shift and refine, and subtilize so much to save himself in his disputing, that in some instances, with those who did not know him well, it created some unkind suspicions of his sincerity. He had also that regard for the city of London, and the profession of merchants, and that warmth for their interests, and, indeed, for every person he undertook to serve, that on some occasions it has thrown him into partialities for them, that he himself might not perceive, though every body else did. He was not, perhaps, without his vanity too, and that might carry him into a desire of trying his skill with sir Robert Walpole, in those matters in which he was thought to have no equal, and to be sure he had none, unless sir John Barnard was the man.

There were two other persons, who, in different ways, contributed very much to the keeping up the fire of opposition to sir Robert Walpole's administration: the late lord Bolingbroke, and the lord Carteret, afterwards earl of Granville. They were universally esteemed of the greatest genius for parts and knowledge, of any men of the

age. The latter, thought to be the better scholar, and to have formed his eloquence more upon the ancients, and to have more of their spirit in it than the former; but the first was far the better writer, and had been a very lively and able speaker in both houses of parliament. They were both of them of unbounded spirit and ambition, impatient of restraint, contemning the notion of equality with others in business, and even disdaining to be any thing, if not the first and highest in power. In the conduct of affairs they were deemed bold, if not rash, and the lord Bolingbroke was of a temper to overturn kingdoms, to make way for himself and his talents to govern the world; whilst the other thought more of raising a great name all over Europe, and having that continued by history to all posterity. They were both very incorrupt as to money. It was not their aim to aggrandize themselves that way. Lord Carteret was all glory, even to the enthusiasm of it, and that made him rather more scrupulous than the other, in the means he used for his greatness; but lord Bolingbroke's was merely power, and to be the leader of it, without any other gratification but what the present enjoyment of it might give him: in a word, they were both made rather for the splendour of great monarchies, than the sober councils of a free state, whose liberty is its chief concern. With these talents and temper, it will not be wondered at that they should be enemies to sir Robert Walpole, and he to them. It was at court he feared lord Carteret most, as the most likely person to supplant him with the king and queen, who disliked lord Carteret less than any of the others who carried on this opposition: for he had very early in his life applied himself to the affairs of Germany, and the northern courts; he had been a minister at one of them, and had made many connexions of acquaintance and intimacy with the persons that came from that part of the world hither, and especially with the Hanoverian minis-

ters (none of whom ever loved sir Robert Walpole,) by whose means he had some communications with the queen, if not the king, and they at least had no unfavourable opinion of him : and when he did come into power, upon the removal of sir Robert Walpole, had more of the king's favour and opinion, than any of his other ministers, partly for the reasons before-mentioned, but chiefly that his politics made very much for the interests of Hanover, which he always laboured to unite with those of his country.

But lord Bolingbroke did not molest sir Robert Walpole in this way. He had no hopes of coming into business and power under the present king, at least, but by forcing his passage to it. He had by his writings, so irritated and inflamed the nation, who eagerly read his invectives, that at sometimes there was too much reason to fear the rage he had wrought the body of the people up to, might have produced the most desperate attempts. But he meant only to terrify the king into a change of his ministry, and for himself to be thereby restored to his honours, which would, as he always flattered himself, soon put him at the head of affairs.

There was besides these two, another person of great rank, who came to have a considerable share in the design of ruining sir Robert Walpole ; I mean the earl of Chesterfield. He was esteemed the wittiest man of his time, and of a sort that has scarcely been known since the reign of king Charles II. and revived the memory of the great wits of that age, to the liveliest of whom he was thought not to be unequal. He was, besides this, a very graceful speaker in public ; had some knowledge of affairs, having been ambassador in Holland, and when he was engaged in debates, always took pains to be well informed of the subject, so that no man's speaking was ever more admired, or drew more audience to it than his did ; but chiefly from those who either relished his wit, or were pleased with see-

ing the ministry exposed by his talent of ridicule, and the bitterness of jest he was so much master of, and never spared.

Sir Robert Walpole continued in his fulness of power till 1741, fortified as he believed, by his triumphal defeat of his principal opposers, in their motion for an address to the king to remove him from his presence and council. That success rendered him too secure in his own mind, and, it is said, made him remiss in his means to obtain the next parliament. But be that as it will, he could not support himself in the new house of commons, at least his best friends thought so, although he himself thought otherwise, and reproached them for it. And therefore, after many attempts to save himself, but in vain, he yielded at last, although with much reluctance; resigned his employments, and was made an earl, with every private favour he desired of the king. His retreat was entire from any concern in the business of government, but not from the following estimation of almost every man of those that had surrounded him in the height of his power. He lived but a very few years afterwards.

I will end this account of him with saying, that he was a wise and able minister, and the best man, from the goodness of his heart, which was characteristic in him, to live with, and to live under, of any great man I ever knew.

* * * * *

Mr. Pelham told me soon after sir Robert's death, mentioning several things of him, that lord Bolingbroke had, by some German intrigues and influence, so wrought himself into the confidence and favour of the then late king, Geo. I. that had he lived to come back from Hanover, it was very probable he would have made lord Bolingbroke his chief minister, and of which sir Robert was so sensible, that he intended, just before the king went abroad, to

have obtained a peerage for himself, and resigned his offices. But acquainting his great friend the duke of Devonshire of it, he was strongly averse to it, and it was so strenuously opposed by the princess, to whom the duke of Devonshire had imparted it, that he had laid aside his design, although against his judgment, at that time. This shews the interest he had then with the princess, and will account for the early re-establishment and increase of his power in the following reign, against the new king's first inclination and resolution, which were certainly for Mr. Compton, the speaker, who had been long his treasurer, and very near to him in all his counsels. It went so far as to be almost a formal appointment; the king for two or three days directing every body to go to him upon business; and sir Robert, I know, did believe himself it would be so; but by the queen's management all this was soon over-ruled, with a sincere regard I am persuaded, to what she believed to be most for the king's real service, with perhaps at the same time a little vanity, to have the person deemed the ablest minister in parliament of that age, to be a dependant of her's, which the other was not, or much in her esteem.

* * * * *

A little before sir Robert Walpole's fall, and as a popular act to save himself (for he went very unwillingly out of his offices and power), he took me one day aside, and said, "What will you say, speaker, if this hand of mine shall bring a message from the king to the house of commons, declaring his consent to having any of his family after his own death, to be made by act of parliament incapable of inheriting and enjoying the crown, and possessing the electoral dominions at the same time?" My answer was, "Sir, it will be as a message from heaven." He replied, "It will be done." But it was not done; and I have good reason to believe it would have been op-

posed and rejected at that time, because it came from him : and by the means of those who had always been most clamorous for it. Thus perhaps the opportunity was lost. When will it come again? It was said that the prince at that juncture would have consented to it, if he could have had the credit and popularity of the measure, and that some of his friends were to have moved it in parliament, but that the design at St. James's prevented it. Notwithstanding all this, I have had some thoughts that neither court ever really intended the thing itself ; but that it came on and went off, by a jealousy of each other in it, and that both were equally pleased that it did so, from an equal fondness very natural for their own native country.

TREATY OF BRESLAU.

A. D. 1742.

IN the month of June, 1742, the treaty of Breslau was concluded between the queen of Hungary and the king of Prussia, under the mediation of Great Britain ; the earl of Hyndford, minister of the court of London at Vienna, being vested by her Hungarian majesty with full powers to sign in her name. This treaty laid the foundation of the present greatness of Prussia, and the cessions made by it so far exceeded the most sanguine hopes originally entertained by the Prussian monarch, as to cause him to speak of it publicly in terms of the highest exultation : declaring, that he would be willing to part with one of his hands, to ensure the perpetual and faithful observance of it.

The articles are in substance as follows :

I. There shall be henceforth and for ever, an inviola-

ble, as also a sincere union and perfect friendship between her Hungarian and Bohemian majesty on one side, and the king of Prussia on the other.

II. The contracting parties shall not grant any succour or assistance to the enemies of each other, nor shall contract any alliance contrary to these preliminary articles of peace.

III. There shall be a general amnesty on both sides.

IV. All hostilities shall cease on both sides immediately on the signing of these presents, &c. The king of Prussia shall in sixteen days withdraw all his forces into his own dominions, and it shall be lawful for such as dwell in the countries hereby yielded to the king of Prussia, to sell their estates at any time within five years, and withdraw their persons and effects, without being subject to any tax or imposition whatever on that account.

V. In order to put an end to all disputes about boundaries, and to destroy pretensions on both sides, of whatever kind they be, her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia yields by these preliminaries, as well for her heirs and successors as herself, in perpetuity and in full sovereignty, independent of the crown of Bohemia, to the king of Prussia and his successors, as well the Low as the High Silesia, except the principality of Teschen and the city of Trappau, and the country lying beyond the river Opau, and the high mountains bounding Upper Silesia; as also the lordship of Herendorf, and other districts which belong to Moravia, though included in Upper Silesia. In like manner her majesty yields for herself, her heirs, &c. to his majesty the king of Prussia, the city and castle of Glatz, and all the county of that name, with the entire sovereignty thereof, and independent of the crown of Bohemia. In return, his Prussian majesty renounces all pretensions whatsoever on the queen of Hungary.

VI. The king of Prussia shall preserve the catholic religion in *statu quo*, as also the inhabitants of the coun-

try in their possessions, liberties, privileges, &c. without derogation, however, to an entire liberty of conscience for protestants, and the rights of the sovereign.

VII. The king of Prussia charges himself wholly with the repayment of what was lent by the English merchants, on the security of the revenues of Silesia, by the contract of London, January 21, 1735.

VIII. Prisoners on both sides shall be released without ransom, and all contributions shall cease.

IX. Whatever concerns commerce shall be regulated by the peace.

X. There shall be drawn and signed on the matter of these preliminaries, a peace, in due form, within convenient time; and till then, these articles shall have all the force of such a peace.

XI. The two high contracting parties agree to comprehend in these preliminaries of peace, his majesty the king of Great Britain, in that quality, and also as elector of Hanover; her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, his majesty the king of Denmark, the States-general of the United Provinces, the most serene house of Wolfenbuttle, and his majesty the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, provided that within sixteen days after the signing of these presents shall be duly notified to him, he shall withdraw his forces from the French army in Bohemia, and out of all the dominions of her majesty the queen of Hungary.

XII. The exchange of the ratifications of these presents shall be made at Breslau, in eight or ten days from the signing of these preliminaries. In the faith of which, &c.

HYNDFORD, L. S.

PODIWELTS, L. S.

Breslau, June 11, 1742.

Such were the easy terms on which the king of Prussia acquired this vast accession of dominion, territory, and

revenue. “The dark and doubtful conduct of cardinal Fleury rendered the French court,” as the monarch himself tells us, “the object of his extreme distrust.” He knew that secret negotiations were carrying on at Vienna; and that La Chetardie, the French ambassador at Petersburg, had declared to the empress of Russia, that the most certain means of effecting a reconciliation with Sweden, was to indemnify that power in Pomerania, at the expence of the king of Prussia. Added to this, his treasury was exhausted, and he possessed not those resources, to which sovereigns who reign over rich and opulent countries have recourse. In these circumstances he was happy to avail himself of the mediation of England, the affairs of which were now directed by lord Carteret, who urged with all his influence the conclusion of this treaty, in the hope that the king of Prussia would afterwards become a party in the war which he had then in contemplation against France. But this was far from that monarch’s intention: on the contrary, in a letter addressed to cardinal Fleury, he exerted all his eloquence to palliate his defection from the French alliance, as arising not from any change of sentiment, but from motives of uncontrollable necessity.

“Par les negotiations, et par l’épée,” says he, “j’ai contribué autant qu’il a été en moi à soutenir le parti de mes alliés sans que les effets aient jamais assez répondu aux désirs de ma bonne volonté. Quoique mes troupes épuisées par les fatigues continuelles demandassent à prendre quelques repos, je n’ai point refusé aux pressantes sollicitations du marechal de Belle-isle de les employer en Bohême. De retour en Bohême j’ai marché contre le prince de Lorraine. Maintenant la Bavière est coupée de la Bohême, & les Autrichiens maîtres de Pilsen interceptent en quelque sorte les secours que le marquis de Broglie peut attendre de la France. Malgré les promesses que les Saxons ont fait à M. de Belle-isle, loin de se préparer à les remplir

et à se joindre aux François, j'apprends qu'ils quittent la Bohême et retournent dans leur Electorat. Dans cette situation où la conduite des Saxons est plus que suspecte, et où il n'y a rien à espérer de M. de Harcourt, l'avenir ne me présente qu'une guerre longue et interminable dont le principal fardeau retomberoit sur moi. D'un côté l'argent des Anglois met toute la Hongrie en armes ; d'un autre côté les efforts de la reine font que ses provinces enfantent des soldats. Les Hongrois se préparent à tomber sur la haute Silésie : les Saxons dans les mauvaises dispositions que je leur connois, sont capable d'agir de concert avec les Autrichiens et de faire une diversion dans mes pays héréditaire, à présent sans defense. L'avenir ne m'offre que des perspectives funestes, et dans une situation aussi critique, quoique dans l'amertume de mon cœur je me suis vu dans la nécessité de me sauver du naufrage et de gagner un asile : si des conjunctures fâcheuses m'ont obligé de prendre un parti que la nécessité justifie, vous me trouverez toujours fidele à remplir les engagements dont l'exécution ne dépend que de moi.—Plutôt mes armes tourneroient contre moi-même que contre les François.”

The king of Prussia does by no means arrogate the merit of making this great acquisition merely by the force of his own talents. Circumstances, says he, seconded this enterprise throughout. In order to render it successful, it was necessary that France should have taken the part she did in the war against Austria—that Russia should have been attacked by Sweden—that the Hanoverians and Saxons should have been restrained by timidity, from timely and vigorous action—and that the king of England, the enemy of Prussia, should have become in his own despite, the instrument of their aggrandizement. If this great undertaking had failed, the king would have been censured as an inconsiderate prince, who had attempted an enterprise beyond his strength. Success established his reputation.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ORFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Woolterton, Nov. 8, 1744.

THE circumstances and contents of the letter you received from lord Cholmondeley by express, evidently shew that it was first concerted by the influence of Carteret with the king, then settled and dispatched between his lordship and lord Cholmondeley alone, all entirely without the privity and knowledge of the Pelhams; that there has been a contest in the closet about the conduct of the approaching session; and that Carteret's opinion for supporting with vigour the present war, prevails. I was convinced by some observations on Mr. Pelham's behaviour before I left the town, that either want of resolution or capacity in his great and difficult station, or both, inclined him to wish an end to the present troubles abroad at any rate. His intimation by Mr. Selwyn to you, to stay in the country, and the language the speaker is said to hold lately, who is in Pelham's confidence, that we should wrap ourselves up within ourselves, has strengthened that opinion; and the inclosed letter of the 3d instant, from the duke of Newcastle, in answer to one I had wrote to him about the Sicilian abbot, induces me to believe that his hatred to Carteret, has even made his grace fall from his glorious notions of making a figure abroad, into his brother's way of thinking. Your lordship will observe how coolly and doubtfully he speaks of the two only points that seem favourable to the allies abroad; and how remarkable his conclusion is about the backwardness of the Dutch, and our inability to do without them. So that upon our arrival in town, we shall meet among that set, the same doctrine about the war, as we did last year about the Hanover troops.

Your lordship's answer to lord Cholmondeley, for the

sight of which I return you my thanks, is, in my opinion, as proper and prudent, considering your situation, as could be. But the wipe you give to *the present system of politics*, and your avoiding to enter into any previous consultation of measures, will make Carteret perceive that you decline having any thing to do with him. However, your strong expressions of zeal and attachment to his majesty, must obviate any ill impression he may endeavour to make upon the king to your prejudice.

Is it not possible that the baron's * advantageous report of you, may have had a great effect upon his majesty; and that Carteret perceiving it, may have taken this turn, either to engage you in his measures, or to make an ill use of your coldness, where your assistance is sought for by his majesty himself? But let that be as it will, I think it impossible for you to return any other answer than you have done. I think Mr. Pelham can't avoid writing circular letters to the members; but I much doubt whether you will hear from him, on account of his sentiments relating to measures; because he will not encourage Carteret's notions, and he will scarce venture to write against what he knows to be his majesty's inclination.

We set out for London next Saturday se'nnight; so that we shall not interfere with you upon the road. Perhaps you will hear something from your son Horace; if any thing material comes I should be glad to know it.

ENCLOSURE.

Newcastle-House, November 3, 1744.—I had the favour of your letter relating to the Sicilian abbot, &c. We know yet nothing certain of the Prussian and Austrian armies, except that the latter was certainly joined by the Saxons; and the former seeming to go towards

* Baron Hartenberg, grand chamberlain of the electorate of Hanover, who had lately returned from a visit to the earl of Orford, at his magnificent mansion of Houghton.

Prague, with a view to lie under that town. The siege of * * * we think is certainly raised, though we have yet no certain advice of it. I am sorry to say your old friends the Dutch are much too backward, considering their interest and danger, and our inability to do without them.

HORACE WALPOLE TO THE EARL OF ORFORD.

MY DEAR LORD,

Woolterton, Nov. 27, 1744.

FINDING by your lordship's letter, that you had received nothing from any body else but your son Horace, relating to the present crisis at court, I have thought proper to send you the inclosed anonymous letter, which I received by the last post, wrote I suppose the same day with your son's, because it is plain that it wholly concerns yourself. The hand is so well counterfeited, that it is impossible to guess the author by that; but the sense and substance of it shew plainly, that it is from some friend that is well informed; and I imagine it may be from John Selwyn. The inclosed, that came at the same time from Popple, who I conclude must have had his intelligence from Cleveland-court, by his intimacy there, in some measure strengthens that opinion. Whether you think the hint of such weight and authority, as to make you put off your journey to London for some time longer, you are the best judge; in that case, a letter wrote by this day's post to me, addressed to the Cock-pit, will be in town on Monday, and will upon my arrival there, enable me to say what you shall think proper, for your not coming to town, or to execute any other commands.

I must own that this unexpected revolution at court, without any previous notice to you, gives a new turn and interpretation to lord Cholmondeley's express; and in

clines me to think that it concerns men more than measures, though the last are in consequence included in it. And as this grand affair, pursuant to what Mr. Pelham hinted to you in his letter by Morris, *that the dance would no farther go*—has been some time in agitation, I am really surprised that lord Cholmondeley was not so kind as to inform you by a private letter, when he sent the express, how matters stood at court; for it is very possible, unless you hear this day of the disposition of places, and a complete and determined scheme of the new ministry, the king's, or rather lord Granville's resolution for filling up the vacancies, may be reserved for your arrival; which, as it concerns persons, is extremely hazardous and embarrassing; for I take it for granted, that the meeting of parliament will be put off for some time, or adjourned immediately. As I thought it my duty to send you the anonymous letter, I could not forbear these loose speculations, entirely submitted to your better judgment.

ANONYMOUS LETTER INCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.

By the time you receive this, you may reckon upon alterations in the administration, and that Carteret has quitted his office. I mean literally his office, for he has parted with none of the king's confidence or favour, but enjoys that as amply as ever, with assurances of its continuance. In the hurly-burly with which this will be attended, will it not be advisable that your brother deferred his journey a few days, till there is some consistency? I am clear it would be right, but every one knows his own business best. ADIEU.

THE EARL OF CHOLMONDELEY TO THE EARL OF ORFORD.

MY LORD,

November 5, 1744.

I HAD this morning the honour of attending his majesty in the closet, being called for by the lord of the bed-chamber by his majesty's command; when he was pleased, after many gracious expressions in your favour, and speaking of your service the last year in particular, in relation to the question of the continuance of the Hanover troops, in the strongest terms to command me to inform you, that it would be highly agreeable to him, your coming to town a week or ten days before the meeting of parliament. He further added, that the experience he had for so many years received of your lordship's zeal for his service, your consummate judgment in the interior and domestic affairs of this kingdom, were so many motives to desire your attendance, when England was under the necessity of taking upon herself so large a share in the conduct and support of the common cause, in the present dangerous and disturbed situation of Europe; knowing of what real weight your opinion and influence must be with numbers in both houses of parliament, when such nice and important points must come before them for their deliberation and advice. As I write by express command, I make use of his majesty's very expressions to the best of my recollection, and shall therefore not presume to add any thing more of my own, but only to assure you, that I am, &c.

I send this express, being directed so to do by his majesty.

THE EARL OF ORFORD TO THE EARL OF CHOL-
MONDELEY.

MY LORD,

November 7, 1744.

I AM infinitely obliged to his majesty for the goodness he was pleased to express for me by you. He does me but justice, in believing that the care and study of my life, whilst I had the honour to serve his majesty, was to deserve his favour and good opinion; and I shall still persevere in a private capacity to endeavour to merit the continuance of his grace and goodness, the only reward I have now to ask for all my past and future services. I will set out for London with all the expedition I can; and am heartily sorry to see his majesty's affairs reduced to such extremities. It has been a long time easy to foresee the unavoidable, and almost unsurmountable difficulties that would attend the present system of politics. I wish to God it was as easy to shew the way out of them. But be assured that I will in every thing, to the utmost of my power, consult and contribute to the honour, interest, and safety of the king and kingdom.

I have often been out of order this summer with making bloody urine, which has frequently returned upon me from the motion in a coach. I am at present perfectly free from it, and hope by lying still and quiet a week longer, I shall be able to undertake a London journey, and by care and management, to perform it so as to get to town several days before the meeting of parliament will be finally adjusted and settled at court. Till that is done, I can be of no use or service in recommending the measures to such as may have a regard for my opinion.

THE EARL OF CHOLMONDELEY TO THE EARL OF
ORFORD.

MY LORD,

I HAD the favour of your lordship's letter, and communicated the contents of it immediately ; and am directed to tell you, that nothing could be more acceptable than the assurances you give, and that they were received with great cordiality. The desire of seeing your lordship in town grows every day stronger, and I am to enforce your doing it, without inconvenience to yourself, as early as may be. The warmest and strongest expressions were made use of in speaking of your lordship's behaviour. I venture this by the post, as I imagine it will still find you at Houghton. The moment you arrive, I will in person assure you of the real respect, &c.

ARGUMENTS FOR AND AGAINST THE REGENCY
BILL.

A. D. 1751.

ON the 20th of March, 1751, died Frederick prince of Wales, aged forty-five years ; and in just contemplation of the inconveniences which might arise from a minority, the king sent on the 26th of April, the following message to both houses of parliament :

“ GEORGE R.

“ His majesty having it entirely at heart to secure the future welfare and happiness of his people, has maturely considered that nothing can conduce so much, under the protection of the divine providence, to the preservation of

the protestant succession in his royal family, and the support of the religion, laws, and liberties of these kingdoms, which have been always most dear to him, as the making proper provisions for the care and tuition of the person of his successor, and for the regular administration of the government, in case such successor should be of tender years; by means whereof their safety and princely education may be secured, the public peace and good order maintained, and the strength and glory of the crown of Great Britain suffer no diminution. For these reasons, his majesty out of his paternal affection and tenderness for his royal family, and for all his faithful subjects, earnestly recommends it to both houses of parliament to take this weighty affair into their most serious deliberation; and proposes to their consideration, that when the imperial crown of these realms shall descend to any of the issue of his son, the late prince of Wales, being under the age of eighteen years, the princess dowager of Wales, their mother, should be guardian of such successor, and regent of these kingdoms, until they shall attain such age; with such powers and limitations as shall appear necessary and expedient for these important purposes."

When the bill was presented to the house of peers by the duke of Newcastle on the 5th May ensuing, it appeared that the limitations referred to in the royal message, were of a nature very extraordinary and alarming. It enacted, that there shall be a council of regency to assist her royal highness, consisting of the duke of Cumberland, and such persons as for the time being shall be archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord president, lord privy seal, lord high admiral, the principal secretaries of state, and lord chief justice of the king's bench; together with any other four persons whom his majesty shall appoint; any five shall act, and of this council, the

duke of Cumberland shall be chief or head.—The consent of the majority of five or more of the council, shall be necessary in all creations, pardons, gifts, grants, dispositions, instructions, orders, or authorities. The regent shall not make war or peace, or ratify treaties, prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve any parliament, without the consent of the council. The regent shall not remove the officers of the crown, who by virtue of their offices are of the council, without the consent of the majority of the *whole council* or the address of parliament: vacancies by death or removal, to be filled up by the regent in two months, with the consent of the major part of her council, and not otherwise: the parliament in being at the descent of the crown, or if no parliament then in being, the preceding parliament shall continue for three years, except the minor be sooner of age, or the parliament be dissolved by the regent with consent of council.

The object of this bill, beyond all question, must have been to throw the chief power of government into the hands of the duke of Cumberland; to enable the present ministers to retain their offices; and to render the nominal regent a mere cypher. Could any three of the nine great officers of state be gained over by that prince, they, in conjunction with those four persons whose nomination was to be left to the king, would constitute a majority of the council, without exposing the duke to the odium of giving a vote in his own favour. In order doubtless to guard against the arts of intrigue, or the efforts of violence on the part of the regent, no officer of the crown having a seat in the council, was made subject to removal, unless the majority of the *whole council* gave consent. Vacancies must be filled up in the same manner. But the most extraordinary clause was, that by which the existence of the parliament, in which the duke of Cumberland's interest so strongly predominated, was prolonged for three years; so

that if the parliament happened to be on the point of dissolution, the duration of the house of commons would be extended from seven to ten years, and the constitutional and popular election of representatives be entirely superseded by an arbitrary parliamentary appointment. Surely it would have been infinitely better to have named the duke of Cumberland sole regent, entrusting the guardianship of the king's person to the princess dowager, than by a bill framed like the present, to lay the certain foundation of a divided and distracted government! It is unpleasant to observe, that a measure so deeply affecting the most essential interests of the kingdom, was treated on both sides as a mere party question. Those who supported it, viz. Mr. Pelham, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Charles Yorke, &c. with the law officers of the crown, were courtiers and partizans of the duke; while on the contrary, the speakers against it, Mr. Fazakerly, lord Strange, sir John Barnard, sir John Hynde Cotton, lord Cobham, &c. were systematic oppositionists and partizans of the princess. One illustrious exception, however, must be made, viz. the speaker Onslow, who opposed the bill, as there is every reason to believe, from the purest and most unsullied motives of patriotism. The arguments for and against the regency bill may be comprised in the following impartial and general summary.

ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THE REGENCY BILL.

I. This bill is to be considered as a precedent for future times, and no power ought to be entrusted with the virtuous, which would become dangerous when, by a natural succession of events, it shall devolve upon the vicious. The acknowledged public and private virtues of her royal highness therefore ought not to weigh in the present crisis, if there exists a probability that in the next,

or any future emergency, the person to be appointed regent could not safely be entrusted with sovereign power.

II. As a minority has often produced confusion and calamity, it is fit that in such an exigency some general law should immediately take place; and surely the public tranquillity, and the right of the young prince, will be more effectually secured, if it be established as a general rule, that a regent be appointed, together with a council which shall at once assist and restrain, than that a sole regent be immediately invested with sovereign authority. And though this bill has been said to be unprecedented, it is perhaps only so, in so far as the mother of the monarch is appointed regent; for the establishing of a council of regency has been the practice of our ancestors ever since the Conquest, except in the case of the earl of Pembroke during the minority of Henry III. and of Richard duke of Gloucester in the minority of Edward V. When the earl of Pembroke was appointed sole regent, the nation was in a state of such danger and confusion, that it became necessary to deviate from the general rule, however prudent: in the case of Richard, a sole regency with sovereign authority was rather usurped than appointed, and the use he made of his power, is the strongest reason why it should not be suffered to come into the hands of another.

III. It does not appear that the fear of factions, in such a council of regency as is appointed by this bill, is justified by experience; and if not justified by experience, it cannot be supported by reason; for as mankind in general are the same, act from the same principles, and fall by the same temptations, the future is best inferred from the past, and no better arguments can be advanced for the probability of a future event, than that it has happened before; so that reason as well as experience is in favour of the bill; for if factions have not been the consequence of former councils of regency, it is improbable they should be the consequence of this.

IV. The restrictions in the bill, are such only as a wise and good sovereign would lay upon himself; for it cannot be believed that such a prince would either make peace or war, prorogue or dissolve parliament, or remove or appoint any great officers of state, or bishops, or judges whose places continue for life, without the advice of his council. And the power of the council of regency is merely restrictive: they cannot meet but when called by the regent, nor when met, can they take any thing into consideration that is not by the regent laid before them; their resolutions are ineffectual without her concurrence; and their dissent to any useful measure may be over-ruled by parliament, as upon the address of both houses, the whole council or any of its members may be removed.

V. This bill is rendered absolutely necessary by a defect in our constitution: for the king is never supposed to be a minor by law, but upon his accession to the throne becomes immediately invested with sovereign authority, and the whole executive power rests in his hands; the consequence of which is, that he who, by whatever means, obtains possession of the infant's person, is eventually possessed of regal power and authority. It is indeed enacted by the statute of 8th William III. that upon the demise of the sovereign the parliament shall meet, and that the session shall continue six months, but it is immediately added—unless the same shall be dissolved by the next heir to the crown, without any exception as to infant kings. Whoever therefore shall be in possession of the person of the infant sovereign, may, under the specious appellation, and by assuming the dangerous powers of sole regent, effectually prevent the parliament from acting; or adopt such means as shall make it the instrument of oppression and usurpation. Nor is this mere speculation; for the authority of parliament was thus eluded and perverted by Richard III. while he was regent; though, when the king his brother

died, there were nine persons who would have legally succeeded to the crown before him*.

VI. This bill is calculated not only for the public benefit, and for the security of the young king, but for the ease, the safety, and the honour of the regent. It is for the security of the prince, and the welfare of the public, that the regent is restrained from such acts as could admit of no remedy, if they should appear to be of pernicious consequence, even by the king himself when he should come at age; but it is for the honour of the regent, that she is invested with every other branch of sovereign authority; and though she is restrained from appointing the bishops or judges, who hold their places for life, yet she may by her sole power appoint much more important officers for the time being; such as the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the general of the army, the governors of the plantations, and many others; and it is for her ease as well as safety, that a council is appointed her, because the regent, as a subject, being still accountable for her conduct, it is of great moment to her, that the consent and approbation of the chief officers of state to every important act of her government should be authentically ascertained. On the other hand, to constitute the princess sole regent with sovereign authority, would afford a precedent which might hereafter be fatal to some of her royal highness's descendants, and deprive her administration of a sanction which would at once add weight to her authority, wisdom to her councils, and security to her person.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE REGENCY BILL.

I. As to the allegation of danger from the setting of a precedent which it may be improper for posterity to fol-

* Two sons and five daughters of the late king, and a son and daughter of the duke of Clarence.

low, it is sufficient to answer, that by universal acknowledgment, the appointment of the princess as regent, with sovereign power, is the immediate interest of the nation. And by what argument can it be proved, that the immediate interest of the nation ought to be given up for a remote possibility? A possibility that some future generation may be so weak or so corrupt as to make no new provision for a new exigency, in which, except the minority of the king, every circumstance shall be different. It cannot be supposed or pretended that the regulation which the present parliament is about to make, will restrain all future parliaments from the same exercise of their power; or that the authority with which the princess may now be entrusted, shall of course devolve upon future regents. On the contrary, if that reasoning which is derived from facts is least subject to fallacy and error, it is so far from being probable that this precedent will always be followed in time to come, that it is probable it will never be followed at all. For it appears from our histories, that no two regulations for the administration of government, during a minority, are alike; nor is it now thought expedient to pay any regard to what has been done on these occasions in times past. But granting that this bill will descend as an inviolable law, from which, upon no exigency, the legislators of futurity shall dare to depart, the reasons against it become still more numerous and more cogent. It is a precedent for violating the constitution, by dividing the prerogative of one; for the executive power is the prerogative of one, not the joint privilege of many; and if future attempts to change the constitution shall be supported by the solemn sanction of this bill, the deference that shall be paid to it by posterity, will ensure the success of sedition, and overturn the legislature, by dividing it against itself.

II. That a minority has often produced confusion and

calamity, is true ; but it is probable that this confusion and calamity will rather be increased than prevented by the immediate intervention of a general law, by which the same regulation is to be established, however circumstances may differ. The dangers of a majority, on the contrary, can only be obviated by adapting the regulation to the particular exigencies of the state, the character of the regent, the influence of parties, and the factions of the court ; circumstances which, as they may be infinitely varied, must render different measures expedient, which precedent cannot possibly direct, and which no general regulation can supply. To suit an administration to particular national circumstances, seems at least to have been attempted in all the minorities that have already happened, by the great difference of the forms of government that have been at different times established on these occasions. The earl of Pembroke was appointed sole regent at the commencement of the reign of Henry III. with little less than sovereign authority. In the infancy of Henry VI. there were two protectors, with a council ; in the minority of Edward VI. there was a council of regency, without a regent, and subject to the controul of another council ; so that a kind of general precedent results from all these regulations—that of acting as the case requires, without any regard to former appointments, which were necessarily temporary and occasional.

III. It has been asserted, that a council of regency will not expose the nation to the misery of contending factions. If however what shall be, is best inferred from what has been, no doubt can remain of the confusion that must arise from the strife of many for distinction and power. Farther, it is alleged, that though factions in such a council may possibly produce some degree of confusion and debility in the state, yet from the greater danger of usurpation, we are effectually secured by this bill. But by this bill the royal power is not limited ; it is di-

vided; and it will appear from our histories, that every attempt to divide the royal power, has proceeded with confusion, and terminated in usurpation. If this measure is suffered to take effect, a factious majority in the council of regency *may* be supported by a factious majority in parliament. It will then be impracticable for the regent to dissolve either combination; because no member of the council is to be removed but upon the address of both houses; nor is the parliament to be dissolved but by the consent of the majority of the council. But this is not all; for it is evident that the regent may, in these circumstances, be compelled to dismiss from her council whoever is not in the combination; and thus the danger of an usurpation is demonstrable; for whoever is at the head of the confederacy, in which the whole council will be absorbed, must almost insensibly become invested with sovereign power, and by an easy transition become absolute and despotic. This bill, therefore, is not adapted to prevent that mischief, in the fear of which every positive good is confessedly given up, and every other evil is incurred.

IV. It has been said, that the restraint which is laid upon the regent, is such only as a wise and good sovereign would lay upon himself. But there is surely a wide difference between a sovereign who takes the advice of his council with respect to important transactions, of the fitness of which he is finally to judge, and which are either to be suspended or executed as he alone shall determine, and a regent to whom the will of this council must eventually give law; who can pursue no measure of moment in which they do not concur, and who cannot remove them, however insolent, arbitrary, or capricious, however wanton in the power they possess, and however negligent in the duties which they owe. As the power of the council is not merely restrictive, neither is it true that they cannot meet but when called together by the regent, or take any subject into consideration which is not by her laid be-

fore them ; for of this council a president is appointed, and the office of a president is to call a council together, and to propose such subjects as he thinks proper to their consideration. The bill indeed says, that they shall meet when her royal highness shall please to direct ; but there are no words to prevent their meeting without her direction, nor any by which she is empowered to put an end to their meeting ; neither is there any clause to restrain them in the subjects of their consideration. The regent appears to have no right to be present at their deliberations, and they seem to be empowered not only to deliberate, but to act, without her concurrence ; for it is expressly said, “ that any five should be sufficient to act, and that the acts of such five shall be deemed to be acts of the council of regency.” The regent does not therefore appear to have always even a negative voice ; but as the dissent of the council to any useful measure can only be over-ruled by the address of both houses, their influence will probably secure them in the possession of their power.

V. Among other reasons urged in defence of this bill, it is asserted, that by a certain defect in our constitution, it is made absolutely necessary. The king, say they, by the law, is never supposed to be a minor. Whoever obtains possession of his person, consequently is invested with the whole executive power, and may dissolve the parliament, which by the 8th William III. is appointed to meet on the demise of the king, and thus secure himself in the possession of regal authority. This however is far from being a true state of the case. A parliament meeting by virtue of the above act, cannot be prevented from acting by any who shall have possession of the person of the minor ; for the words, “ unless the same shall be sooner prorogued or dissolved by the next heir to the crown,” plainly suppose the minor to have come of age within six months after the demise of his predecessor, his

capacity to act being necessarily implied. And should any subject, in the rashness of his ambition, dare to prorogue or dissolve the parliament in the name of a minor before they had settled a regency, it is much more probable that they would send him to the Tower, than that they would separate. How the power of parliament was eluded by Richard III. it is not of importance to inquire, because subsequent statutes have made the same methods impracticable; and his example, like the head of Medusa, is held up for no other purpose than to astonish and petrify.

VI. Upon the whole, this bill is not calculated for public benefit, because it must necessarily produce faction; nor for the security of the sovereign, because it tends to facilitate usurpation; nor for the benefit of posterity, because the precedent is pernicious; nor for the honour of the regent, because she can be considered only as an instrument in the hands of others, who have sacrificed her glory to the continuance of their own importance. It is indeed pretended, that the governments abroad, the army, the navy, and many important ecclesiastical and civil employments, are in her disposal: but this is true only in appearance; for, in fact, she can dispose of no employment, the patent, commission, or warrant for which, must pass the great or privy seal, or be countersigned by any of the great officers whom she cannot remove; and few other places are in her gift. The security of her person is another compliment paid her by this bill; but her person would have been secured by her sagacity and her virtue;—or, supposing these to have been insufficient, it is not easy to conceive that any benefit is conferred, when, to prevent the consequences of acting wrong, a person is restrained from acting at all; or that he who takes away honour, deserves thanks for conferring safety.

JEW NATURALIZATION BILL.

A. D. 1753.

ON the 16th of April, 1753, a bill which had been passed without opposition by the lords, entitled, "an act to permit persons professing the jewish religion to be naturalized by parliament, &c." was sent down to the commons, where it was next day read a first time, and ordered to be read a second time. May 7th, it was, after the second reading, ordered to be committed. On the motion of commitment, and not till then, a dangerous spirit of opposition to the bill began to show itself; an opposition compounded of faction and fanaticism. The bill itself was an harmless, and almost an insignificant one; for it only went to the removal of certain legal disabilities under which the jews laboured, and to make them, in common with other aliens, *capable* of being naturalized. Even with regard to those few individuals of the jewish community who might be supposed to have interest enough to avail themselves of this indulgence, the privileges included in the term *naturalization*, were by the public in general grossly misunderstood. A naturalization bill does not give a right so much as to a parish settlement; though a foreigner without naturalization may acquire this right either by service, apprenticeship, or renting an house of a certain value. A naturalization bill doth not convey the freedom of any city, borough, or corporate society, in the kingdom; neither doth it qualify a person to be employed in any office or trust, civil or military. A naturalized foreigner cannot receive any grants from the crown, directly or indirectly; nor can he be a member of the privy council, or of either house of parliament; and no bill can be so much as proposed to parliament for the naturalization of any foreigner, except a clause restraining

him from those privileges be first inserted. Neither can a naturalized jew so much as vote for members of parliament, without perjury, or abjuration of his religion; for such oaths may be tendered him as, upon jewish principles, he cannot take. In short, the object of a naturalization bill is merely to empower foreigners to purchase lands, and to merchandize, without paying alien's duty.

After some warm discussion in the remaining stages of the bill, and several petitions presented against it, particularly one from the city of London by the sheriffs, stating, "that should the said bill pass into a law, the same would tend greatly to the dishonour of the christian religion, endanger our excellent constitution, and be highly prejudicial to the interest and trade of the kingdom in general, and the city of London in particular," it received the royal assent in the precise form as transmitted from the lords, without alteration or amendment.

It might have been expected, that so preposterous a clamour as had been raised against this bill would have insensibly died away; but on the contrary, during the recess of parliament, in consequence of the wicked arts used to deceive, by some, and the gross ignorance and deplorable bigotry of others, the storm of popular discontent rose to a most dreadful and alarming height. The whole body of the common people, and very many of the higher classes, seemed inflamed almost to madness against the bill. Instructions were sent up from all parts of the kingdom to the members, urging the repeal of the bill, which, at the eve of a general election, must of course come with great additional weight. It was to no purpose to allege, that the naturalization in question gave no greater privileges to any jew settling here, than are at present enjoyed by the son of a jew born in England, and much less than have been granted to them, and which they actually enjoy in many other countries. The jews themselves were exposed to, and in some places suffered

such insults and outrages, that recollecting the terrible examples of former times, they were with reason apprehensive for the consequences, and seriously wished for the repeal of the bill; and the government, too wise to think of opposing such a torrent, scrupled not to make publicly known their intention of moving the repeal.

On the first day of the ensuing session, November 15, 1758, the duke of Newcastle, in person, presented to the house of peers a bill for repealing the obnoxious *act of naturalization*, as it was usually, though very inaccurately and improperly, styled. Finding a ready passage through the lords, it soon came down to the commons; and Mr. Pelham distinguished himself by an early speech in favour of the repeal. He was answered by Mr. Potter, who had the rashness to advise an obstinate, or, to use his own language, a firm and resolute perseverance in the measure, declaring himself, for one, ready to abide the consequences. Sir George, afterwards lord Lyttelton, replied in the following excellent and decisive speech, well deserving the applause and approbation which it met with from the house:

“MR. SPEAKER,

“I see no occasion to enter at present into the merits of the bill we passed the last session, for the naturalization of the jews, because I am convinced that, in the present temper of the nation, not a single foreign jew will think it expedient to take any benefit of that act; and therefore the repealing of it is giving up nothing. I assented to it last year, in hopes it might induce some wealthy jews to come and settle among us: in that light I saw enough of utility in it, to make me incline rather to approve than dislike it; but that any man alive could be zealous either for or against it, I confess I had no idea. What affects our religion, is indeed of the highest and most serious importance. God forbid we should ever be indifferent about that! but I thought

this had no more to do with religion, than any turnpike act we passed in that session; and after all the divinity that has been preached on the subject, I think so still.

“ Resolution and steadiness are excellent qualities, but it is the application of them upon which their value depends. A wise government will know where to yield as well as where to resist; and there is no surer mark of littleness of mind in an administration, than obstinacy in trifles. Public wisdom on some occasions must condescend to give way to popular folly, especially in a free country, where the humour of the people must be considered as attentively as the humour of a king in an absolute monarchy. Under both forms of government, a prudent and honest ministry will indulge a small folly, and will resist a great one. Not to vouchsafe now and then a kind indulgence to the former, would discover an ignorance of human nature; not to resist the latter at all times, would be meanness and servility.

“ Sir, I look on the bill we are at present debating, not as a sacrifice made to popularity, for it sacrifices nothing, but as a prudent regard to some consequences arising from the nature of the clamour raised against the late act for naturalizing jews, which seem to require a particular consideration. It has been hitherto the rare and envied felicity of his majesty's reign, that his subjects have enjoyed such a settled tranquillity, such a freedom from any angry religious disputes, as is not to be paralleled in any former times. The true christian spirit of moderation, of charity, of universal benevolence, has prevailed in the people, has prevailed in the clergy of all ranks and degrees, instead of those narrow principles, those bigotted prejudices, that furious, that implacable, that ignorant zeal, which had often done so much hurt both to the church and state. But from the ill-understood, the insignificant act of parliament you are now moved to repeal, occasion has been taken to deprive us of this inestimable advantage. It is a

pretence to disturb the peace of the church, to infuse idle fears into the minds of the people, and make religion itself an engine of sedition. It behoves the piety as well as the wisdom of parliament, to disappoint those endeavours. Sir, the very worst mischief that can be done to religion, is to pervert it to the purposes of faction. Heaven and hell are not more distant, than the benevolent spirit of the gospel and the malignant spirit of party. The most impious wars ever made, were those called "Holy Wars." He who hates another man for not being a christian, is himself not a christian. Christianity breathes love and peace and good-will to man. A temper conformable to the dictates of that holy religion has lately distinguished this nation: and a glorious distinction it was. But there is latent at all times in the minds of the vulgar, a spark of enthusiasm; which, if blown by the breath of a party, may even when it seems quite extinguished, be suddenly revived and raised to a flame. The act of last session for naturalizing of foreign jews, has very unexpectedly administered fuel to feed that flame. To what a height it may rise, if it should continue much longer, one cannot easily tell; but take away the fuel and it will die of itself.

"It is the misfortune of all the roman catholic countries, that there the church and the state, the civil power and the hierarchy, have separate interests, and are continually at variance one with the other. It is our happiness that here they form but one system. While this harmony lasts, whatever hurts the church injures the state; whatever weakens the credit of the governors of the church, takes away from the civil power a part of its strength, and shakes the whole constitution. Sir, I trust and believe that by speedily passing this bill, we shall silence that obloquy which has so unjustly been cast upon our reverend prelates, some of the most respectable that ever adorned our church, for the part they took in the act which this repeals; and it greatly imports the whole community, that they should not lose that respect which is so justly due to them, by a

popular clamour kept up in opposition to a measure of no importance in itself. But if the departing from that measure should not remove the prejudice so maliciously raised, I am certain that no farther step you can take will be able to remove it ; and therefore I hope you will stop here. This appears to be a reasonable and safe condescension, by which nobody will be hurt ; but all beyond this would be dangerous weakness in government. It might open the door to the wildest enthusiasm, and to the most mischievous attacks of political disaffection working upon that enthusiasm. If you encourage and authorize it to fall upon the synagogue, it will go from them to the meeting-house, and in the end to the palace. But let us be careful to check its farther progress. The more zealous we are to support christianity, the more vigilant should we be in maintaining toleration. If we bring back persecution, we bring back the anti-christian spirit of popery ; and when the spirit is here, the whole system will soon follow. Toleration is the basis of all public quiet ; it is a charter of freedom given to the mind, more valuable than that which secures our persons and estates. Indeed they are inseparably connected ; for where the mind is not free, where the conscience is enthralled, there is no freedom. Spiritual tyranny puts on the galling chains, but civil tyranny is called in to rivet and fix them. We see it in Spain and many other countries ; we have formerly both seen and felt it in England. By the blessing of God we are now delivered from all kinds of oppression ; let us take care that they may never return. The bill of repeal before us, assuredly is not persecution. It only puts every body in that situation where every body was easy. It is a gentle, a prudent, and a moderate measure tending to quiet and settle the minds of men which have been unhappily disturbed without any necessity, and therefore I give it my most hearty concurrence."

It is needless to add, that the bill of repeal passed with unanimity, and completely answered the purpose intended.

CONVENTION OF CLOISTER-SEVEN,

SEPTEMBER 1757.

THE famous convention of Cloister-Seven, concluded between the duke of Cumberland and the marechal duke de Richelieu, through the mediation of the court of Denmark, who named as its minister the count de Lynar, consisted in substance of the following articles, remarkable for their vagueness and incertitude :

I. Hostilities shall cease within twenty-four hours, &c.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, Hessians, Brunswickers, &c. shall be sent home—the route to be settled with a general officer of each nation—and to be placed and distributed in their own countries, as shall be agreed between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. The duke of Cumberland shall pass the Elbe with such part of the Hanoverian troops as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade. The French troops shall remain in the duchies of Bremen and Verden till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. The French army shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession.

This very singular capitulation gave almost equal umbrage to the two courts of Great Britain and France; the former being to the last degree chagrined at the disgrace which it reflected on the Hanoverian arms; and the latter, that the English general had been suffered to escape on terms so easy from a danger so great and imminent. And immediate orders were sent to the marechal duke de Richelieu, to propose to the duke of Cumberland certain explanatory articles, which the count de Lynar declared to be consonant to the true spirit and intent of the convention. They were substantially as follows :

I. The cessation of hostilities shall last during the whole of the present war.

II. The Hanover troops which were to be sent to the other side of the Elbe into the duchy of Lawenburg, should not leave that country while the convention remained in force.

III. No English troops should be admitted into the duchies of Bremen and Verden.

IV. The troops included in the convention, should not serve during the present war, either in the armies of the king of England or in those of his allies.

These explanatory articles were rejected by the court of London with the highest indignation, and the original treaty was interpreted in a mode the most opposite, by the two contending parties.

In the month of November, 1757, the army of observation re-assembled under the command of the prince of Brunswick, in consequence of which unexpected measure, the court of Versailles, equally astonished and enraged, published (December 30) a long and elaborate manifesto, consisting of three distinct parts. The 1st, contains preliminary eclairecissements. The 2d, is called parallel of the king's conduct with that of the king of England; and the 3d, exhibits vouchers of the facts mentioned in the two former.

The manifesto declares, that the alliance between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, which his Britannic majesty has pretended to be so very unnatural, was rendered necessary by the treaty between the courts of London and Berlin, which indulged the imagination that the one should give law on the continent, the other on the ocean.

It charges the king of Prussia with having by the most flagitious injustice, made himself master of Saxony, and the king of England with the guilt of acting as his accomplice, instead of accepting the neutrality offered him.

After detailing the successes of the French arms in

Germany, this paper remarks, that it was the concern of the duke of Cumberland, to save his troops from the total destruction with which they were threatened: for which purpose a military convention had been concluded through the mediation of Denmark. “If,” says the manifesto, “the king of England, elector of Hanover, on his receiving advice of the capitulation, had disowned the duke of Cumberland, his general and son, still would the king have had cause of complaint, military conventions not requiring a ratification; but at least there would have been in this proceeding an appearance of good faith; but to temporize during near three months, let the French army march for Halberstadt, wait till it was separated in the bad season, lay hold of the circumstances of a check to come out of the prescribed limits, afterwards take advantageous posts equally contrary to the convention, and when all these preparations are made, and the enemy is thought to be sufficiently weakened and deceived to be fought with advantage, to declare to him that hostilities are to be renewed, and that the capitulation is looked on as broken at the very same moment that troops are marching to him, and his troops are attacked;—this is trampling on the law of nations, on the laws of justice, honour, and good faith; it is to fear neither the judgment of cotemporaries, or of posterity.”

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An answer to this manifesto, equally full and elaborate, was in a short time published by the court of London, and containing many severe and just reflections on the ambitious and artful policy of the court of Versailles, in respect to Germany. The king of England acknowledges that he rejected the project of neutrality for the electorate of Hanover, offered by the court of Vienna—“repeating with that freedom and uprightness from which he never

departed, his resolution to stop the French troops, and to take no other share in the war." And at the very time that a neutrality was offered to him upon terms dangerous and dishonourable to accept, "the court of Vienna signed a convention with the count d'Estrees, by virtue of which, the French army was to pass the Weser the 10th July."

After the battle of Hastenbeck, the king seeing the efforts he had made wholly ineffectual, resolved in quality of elector, to make proposals of peace to the empress queen, and the court of France. "The two courts," proceeds this justificatory memorial, "had as yet given no definitive answer, when his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, by the mediation of count de Lynar, concluded the TRUCE of September 8, 1757." It needs but little attention to discover the nature and end of this convention. It is a suspension of arms, a military regulation, which the French minister himself drew up. It was to continue till the issue of a negotiation begun by his Britannic majesty in the quality of elector of Hanover, and upon the declaration of the courts of Vienna and Versailles, which was expected. This was the reason why it was not thought necessary to fix the time the suspension of arms was to last. It was drawn up by the generals of the two armies, who mutually agreed that it might be concluded without the ratification of the two courts: and indeed they might well agree to a truce which was to last only for a short time; but it is impossible to suppose that they had power to make a treaty by which, without the ratification of the sovereigns, the king's dominions should be delivered up into the hands of foreigners till a general peace, of which there was not the least appearance. It is a thing unheard of, to give the general of an army so extensive an authority.

It is plain that France herself understood the convention in the very same sense. For if the hands of the Hanoverians were tied up by the suspension of arms concluded

at Cloister-Seven, till a general peace, why did France insist upon having it stipulated by the scheme of explanation proposed by the count de Lynar?—The court of France itself acknowledged, that the last conditions proposed did not exist in the treaty of Cloister-Seven, as it wanted them to be granted by new conventions. The king had therefore an undoubted right to reject them. The king then took the most just measures, and the most agreeable for his own dignity and preservation: the only measures which the arrogance of his enemies had permitted him to take; measures, in short, which, however dangerous and uncertain they then appeared, could not possibly prove more fatal than the equally heavy and shameful yoke which France wanted to impose upon the king by the new convention.

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It is justly remarked by the historian Smollet (vol. iii. p. 200, continuation), “that the king of England’s tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief sources of the misfortunes which befel that electorate.” It is indeed not unlikely, that from the period when a war between France and England appeared inevitable, the court of Versailles might secretly harbour the idea of an attack upon the king’s electoral dominions. But a design of this nature would scarcely have been carried into execution, if the king of England had not himself furnished the French court with a plausible pretext for this odious measure. For, as the manifesto from which the preceding extracts are taken, justly observes, “it would be an open violation of the best established maxims of the law of nations, and would involve the empire in continual wars, if it might be maintained that the states of which it was composed, could be attacked for quarrels that regard only their sovereigns in quality of sovereign powers.”

Had the king of England, therefore, observed a dignified impartiality as to the internal disputes of the empire, employing only his good offices for the accommodation of differences, and taken no precaution whatever for the defence of his electorate, it would probably have wanted no defence. But the restless and impatient temper of the English monarch, impelled him to the adoption of specific measures of security.

His first project was to form an alliance with Russia, who, by a subsidy treaty concluded September 1755, agreed to furnish 40,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, at the requisition of his Britannic majesty. But this treaty gave great offence to the king of Prussia, who declared that he would not suffer the introduction of foreign troops into the empire. It was obvious, that so near and so potent a neighbour as the king of Prussia, might over-run the whole electorate, long before an army of Muscovites could come to its assistance. The system of Hanoverian policy was therefore changed, and a treaty was forthwith negotiated, and signed January 1756, between the courts of London and Berlin, which had been for fifteen years at variance; and conformably to the tenor of this convention, the two courts solemnly pledged themselves to oppose the introduction of all foreign troops into Germany. And had this object been attainable, it were certainly a far preferable policy on the part of the king of England to prevent the march of French troops into the empire, than to oppose them by the aid of such doubtful and dangerous friends as the Russians.

This unexpected junction gave extreme chagrin and alarm to the court of Vienna, then meditating a war against Prussia for the recovery of Silesia, and depending with confidence on the favourable dispositions, if not the actual co-operation, of Great Britain for that purpose. France conceiving herself at the same moment deserted by Prussia, and Austria abandoned by England, it was na-

tural to expect these two great powers to unite for the support of their mutual interests; and on the 1st of May, 1756, a treaty or convention was signed between them, of defence and amity, at Versailles; the French monarch professing nothing more than, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, to march at the requisition of the head of the empire to the aid and assistance of the Germanic body, and particularly of Saxony, unjustly attacked by a rebellious member of that body.

The hostile opposition of the army of Hanover afforded the court of Versailles the wished-for occasion to invade the territories of the electorate, through which she had originally asked only a free passage. The elector of Hanover was now involved in what was styled the rebellion of the elector of Brandenburg, and both these princes were threatened with the ban of the empire, which was indeed shortly afterward promulgated against the latter. The army of observation, far inferior in force to that of France, and commanded by a general whose military skill and talents certainly did not compensate for that inferiority, was, after a short and feeble resistance, driven to the disgraceful necessity of soliciting a capitulation, which left the whole electorate, with the contiguous territories of Brunswick and Hesse, in the undisturbed possession of the French—the very catastrophe which it was the sole object of the king of England's confused and anxious policy to avoid.

To attempt to expose the weakness of this policy, were indeed to attack resistless imbecility. But an examination of the conduct of the king of Prussia at this period, is confessedly a task which demands, in order to form a correct judgment of its merits, the most profound political sagacity. If that great monarch erred in his decision, amid the complicated and innumerable embarrassments with which he was surrounded, it must be ascribed to that too great passion for refinement, and proneness to deduce re-

more consequences from existing, but ever varying circumstances, which so frequently influences men of deep reflection.

The king well knew, by means of a secret and perfectly authentic channel of information, the whole purport of the schemes formed or agitated against him by the three courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Dresden. The question was, in what mode could they be most effectually counteracted? As to the vigorous and decisive opposition which he gave to the introduction of Russian troops into the empire, he could have no hesitation. But to the proposition of the court of London, in relation to a treaty of amity and alliance founded upon that principle, he, not without good reason, demurred, sensible that he could not gain a friend without at the same time making an enemy. No words can, on this singularly interesting occasion, do so much justice to the system ultimately adopted by this monarch, as his own.

“The two kings of Great Britain and France,” says the royal historian, vol. ii. p. 51, “perceiving themselves menaced with war, strove on each side to fortify their party by confirming their ancient alliances, or forming new ones. The king was at this period courted both by the French and English. His alliance with the court of Versailles was not yet expired; but the possessions of France beyond the Atlantic were not included in the guarantee of Prussia: and in present circumstances, it appeared that the policy of the Prussians was to remain neuter during these troubles, and to look on as mere spectators. This however was not the mode of thinking at Versailles. That court appeared to entertain the notion, that the king of Prussia was, with respect to France, what the despot of Walachia is in relation to the Porte; that is to say, a dependent prince, obliged to make war as soon as he receives his orders. The court of France moreover persuaded herself that, by carrying the war into the elec-

torate of Hanover, she should mollify the king of England, and terminate in the centre of the empire the differences which subsisted between her and Great Britain in the new world. M. Rouillé, then minister of foreign affairs, said one day to M. Knyphausen, the Prussian resident at Paris, with a view to engage the king to contribute to this diversion, "Write, sir, to the king of Prussia, that he must assist us in this Hanoverian expedition. There is fine scope for plunder; the treasury of the king of England is well furnished; the king has nothing to do but to seize upon it; he will find it a good capture." The king caused this minister to be informed, that such propositions were proper to be made to persons of another cast, and that he hoped in future M. Rouillé would learn how to make the necessary distinctions.

"These negotiations became more vivid towards the end of the year 1755. King George, informed of the designs of the French, and alarmed at the storm which impended over his electorate, persuaded himself that the most certain way of avoiding the danger, was to conclude a defensive alliance with Prussia. He knew that the ties which united the kings of Prussia and France, were on the point of dissolution, the term of the subsisting treaty of Versailles expiring in the month of March 1756; and he gave it in charge to lord Holderness, secretary of state, to set on foot a negotiation with the court of Berlin. Lord Holderness, uncertain of the disposition of the king of Prussia respecting this alliance, not to expose his master to the hazard of a direct refusal, made his first overtures through the medium of the duke of Brunswick. They were founded on the pretext of securing the repose of Germany against the danger with which she was threatened of a foreign war. It was demanded of the king, whether he would enter into measures calculated to assure and maintain the public tranquillity? This proposition drew after it great consequences; for in the ac-

tual situation of Prussia the determination of such a question involved in it that of peace and war. If the king renewed his treaty with France, it would be necessary to attack the electorate of Hanover. This would be to draw upon him the forces of the English, the Austrians, and the Russians. If, on the other hand, he concluded an alliance with England, it was probable that the French would not carry their arms into the empire, and that Prussia would be supported by Great Britain and Russia. This would apparently oblige the empress queen to remain peaceable, however great might be the desire she entertained to re-conquer Silesia, and whatever preparations she might have made to act as soon as occasion permitted.

“ Before he decided, the king nevertheless judged it expedient to be at a certainty with respect to the manner of thinking at the court of St. Petersburg. But as he had in the person of the chancellor Bestuchef a declared enemy, it was not possible to obtain direct eclairecissements from Petersburg itself, where all communication with Berlin was broken off. He therefore had recourse to M. de Klingraaf, his minister at the Imperial court, and to lord Holderness himself, to know upon what terms Russia was with England; and above all, whether it was the court of Vienna, or that of London, which had most influence at Petersburg. M. de Klingraaf answered, “ that the Russians being a nation governed by interest, there was no doubt but they would be more attached to those who were able to purchase their friendship, than to those who had nothing to give them; that the empress queen often wanted the means to defray her own expences; and that, of course, the Russians would never relinquish their connexions with England, whose immense riches enabled them to give such enormous subsidies.” The answer of lord Holderness imported, that the good understanding between England and Russia being perfect, his

Britannic majesty relied with firmness upon the friendship of the empress Elizabeth. The informations which the king received from his minister at the Hague, corresponded so well with his intelligence from Vienna and London, that he imagined so many persons could not be deceived upon the same subject, and that their conjectures being coincident, must of course be just. This determined him. He entered into negotiations with England, and gave lord Holderness to understand, that he was not averse to taking, in concert with the king of Great Britain, measures innoxious, defensive, and such as related merely to the neutrality of Germany. These two powers finding themselves in perfect accord as to the object of their connexion, soon arrived at the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed at London the 16th January, 1756. This treaty contained four articles; the three first of which regarded only the reciprocal guarantees given for the safety of their own dominions; the last had a direct relation to Germany, and comprehended engagements for preventing any foreign troops from entering the empire. This treaty came actually signed to Berlin, about a month after the arrival of the duc de Nivernois at that place. Louis XV. sent that nobleman to the king, to renew the alliance of Versailles, the term of which was so nearly expiring; and also to draw Prussia into the project which France meditated against the electorate. The most forcible argument employed by the duke was, to offer the king the sovereignty of the island of Tobago, which, after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, had been granted to marshal Saxe. But as the English appeared much dissatisfied at this, it was stipulated that the island should remain uncultivated, and in a state of neutrality. This offer was too singular to be listened to. The king turned it into ridicule, and requested M. de Nivernois to cast his eyes upon some one more proper than him to be-

come governor of the island of Barataria. He even declined renewing the alliance, and involving himself, upon any terms, in the war now in contemplation; and in order to act with the most perfect candour towards France, and to demonstrate the innocence of the new engagements which he had contracted with England, he made no difficulty to shew to the duc de Nivernois the original treaty which he had just received from London.

“The news of this alliance caused a lively sensation at Versailles in the mind of Louis XV. and his council. Scarcely could they avoid saying, that the king of Prussia had revolted against France. Investigated, however, with the spirit of impartiality, the fact was different. The alliance of Prussia with France was to expire in two months. The king, in quality of sovereign, was authorized to enter into connexions with such nations as could best ensure the safety and advantage of his own dominions. He was chargeable therefore with no violation of his faith or his honour in uniting with the king of England, especially as he had nothing farther in view than to preserve the peace of his own kingdom, and of the empire at large. But the French would hear no reason. Nothing was mentioned at Versailles but the defection of the king of Prussia, who had perfidiously abandoned his ancient allies; and the court gave vent to reproaches, which indicated that she would not confine her resentment to words.

“We have seen (in the preceding chapter) by what arts and address the court of Vienna had endeavoured to gain upon that of Versailles, and with what assiduity the count de Kannitz had profited of his residences at Paris, to familiarize the minds of the French with the idea of the Austrian alliance. A momentary gust of ill humour on the part of Louis XV. and the fashion now introduced into the council of Versailles, of declaring against the king of Prussia, caused on a sudden this seed to germinate. The

excessive vivacity of the French nation, pictured an alliance with the house of Austria as a superior stroke of policy. Upon this, the count de Staremberg was charged by the empress queen to propose the alliance between the two courts. An agreement soon took place, both parties wishing the same thing; and the treaty was signed in the name of the most Christian king, at Versailles, by M. Rouillé and the abbé de Bernis, May 1, 1756. This famous treaty was of a defensive nature, containing merely in substance, the promise of succours to the amount of 24,000 men, in case either of the contracting powers was attacked. By this alliance, however, the empress queen was encouraged to proceed to the execution of that grand project which she had so long meditated against Prussia.

“The union recently formed between the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gave strong cause of suspicion, that the treaty of London would not be able to secure the tranquillity of Germany. The sword was suspended by a single hair. Nothing was wanting but a pretext, and when nothing but a pretext was wanting, war might be considered as already declared. It very soon appeared inevitable, for the event shewed that all the politicians deceived themselves in relation to Russia. That power, with whom the intrigues of the Austrian ministers prevailed, broke with England, in consequence of the alliance which the king of Great Britain had concluded with the king of Prussia. M. de Bestuchef experienced an indecisive moment, in which his passion for English guineas struggled against his hatred of the king, and that hatred in the end predominated. The empress Elizabeth, enemy of the French nation ever since the last embassy of M. de la Chétardie, chose rather to join in a league with her, than to preserve the shadow of union with a power which had Prussia for an ally. The court of Vienna keeping all the courts in Europe in a state of agitation, profited of

the passions of the sovereigns and of their ministers, in order to attract them to herself, and to govern them according to the ends which she had continually in her view."

On this animated and masterly statement of the politics of the Continent, at this period, it may be pardonable to offer with great deference, two or three cursory remarks; and,

I. It may admit of suspicion, that this great monarch, in the decision of the important question before him, was in part influenced by a secret emotion of vanity. France had assumed a tone of insulting superiority, and had affected to treat Prussia as a dependent power, which was not competent to support itself without her assistance and protection; and which was under a sort of obligation to conform to that system of policy which she thought proper to adopt. This provoked the resentment of the king of Prussia, and might induce him more easily to listen to any proposals which came from the adverse quarter.

II. It should seem that his Prussian majesty did not exert himself in the most effectual manner to ascertain the real sentiments of the court of St. Petersburg. The answer which he received from lord Holderness, was such as might with certainty be expected; and the opinions of his ambassadors at Vienna and the Hague, were founded, as far as appears, on no specific data. By an application direct or indirect to the court of Petersburg itself, could the determination of the empress be known, with sufficient certainty to make it the foundation of a choice on which the prosperity and safety, perhaps even the existence of Prussia in a political view, depended. If this application was not a thing impracticable, the omission of it was a material error, whether we attribute it to negligence or to pride.

III. The king of Prussia appears not to have been deeply enough impressed with the probability, obvious as it was, that the alliance of the houses of Bourbon and Austria would be the consequence of that between Great Britain and Prussia. He relied too much upon the ancient and hereditary animosity subsisting between them. But that animosity, on the part of the house of Austria, was evidently superseded by the violence of her resentment and hatred against Prussia. And the refusal of the king of Prussia, not only to renew the alliance with France, but his entering into adverse engagements with England, would naturally throw that power into a predicament too favourable to the views of the court of Vienna, to leave any doubt of the ultimate result.

Upon a general review of the question, it was reasonably to be expected and inferred, that if Prussia united herself with France, she would have to contend against Austria, Russia, and England; if she united herself with England, she would have to contend against Austria, Russia, and France; either way, these were fearful odds indeed. It would therefore probably have been the wisest and safest policy for the king of Prussia, no less than the king of England, to have avoided entering into any new and specific engagements of any kind, or with any power whatever; and to have adopted a conciliatory method of procedure with respect to all. In this case, though he might have had Austria and Russia for enemies, France probably would not have entered into engagements with Austria, and most certainly would never have joined the confederacy against him; and as it was greatly and obviously her interest to prevent the re-conquest of Silesia by the empress queen, she might be expected sooner or later to have granted her powerful assistance to enable him to maintain the possession of it.

In a word, had the kings of Great Britain and Prussia maintained a steady and dignified neutrality, Austria

would probably have abstained from the attack of Prussia, from the apprehension of breaking with England; and France would have refrained from the invasion of Hanover, from the dread of exciting the resentment of all the Germanic powers. Russia, Sweden, and Saxony, would not have moved without Austria, and the peace of the Continent would have been ultimately preserved. But it is easy, in speculations of this nature, to discover on a subsequent re-vision of the conduct of men of the greatest ability and sagacity, plausible grounds of censure. The balance wavered almost *in equilibrio*, and the decision of the Prussian monarch, if eventually erroneous, only served to give scope and occasion to the most extraordinary and astonishing display of talents that has for many ages been exhibited on the theatre of the world.

MEMORIAL PRESENTED BY BARON GEMMINGEN,
ELECTORAL MINISTER OF BRUNSWICK LUNENBURG, TO
THE DIET OF THE EMPIRE, NOVEMBER 1758.

This memorial, though somewhat tedious and diffusive, contains information of great importance, and throws much light upon the situation of affairs in the empire at this period.

HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY hath been pleased to communicate to the diet of the empire, by a pretended most gracious decree of the aulic council, dated the 28th August last, mandates issued the 21st of the same month, on pain of the ban of the empire, and with avocatory letters thereto annexed, against his majesty the king of Great Britain, my most gracious master, and

also against some others of the most respectable princes of the Germanic empire. There is not an example of this kind in the history of the empire. His Britannic majesty, during the one and thirty years of his glorious reign, hath observed so unimpeachable a conduct towards all his co-estates of the empire, without distinction of religion, that no prince of the empire hath received greater proofs of esteem and confidence than he can produce: his majesty hath, as much as the weakest states, always observed right and justice.

On the death of the emperor Charles VI. he beheld the time which will be a famous æra in the history of the house of Austria, when the crown of France poured numerous armies into the empire, to exterminate that house, and make itself master of Germany. His majesty, in his double capacity of king and elector, put himself in the breach; he led in person the auxiliary army of her majesty the empress queen, the greatest part of which was composed of his own troops; at the battle of Dettingen he exposed his sacred person for that princess; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland his son, still bears the scars of wounds there received.

The year 1745, when his present Imperial majesty was chosen emperor, is still recent in the memory of all the states of the empire, as well as the pains which his Britannic majesty took upon that occasion. He purchased the preservation of the house of Austria, which was effected at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, with the blood of his subjects, and by means of the most important conquests of his crown. He hath endeavoured to maintain the Imperial crown in that house, by negotiations for the election of a king of the Romans. The treaty of succession, concluded with the duke of Modena, and the aggrandizement resulting from it to the house of Austria, was owing to his majesty's friendship for it.

Instead of a recompense, instead of performing the

tender protestations of regard and gratitude which his majesty then received from her majesty the empress queen, and which his magnanimity hinders him from making public; instead of the observation due to the most solemn treaties, her majesty the empress queen refuses him the assistance which she ought to give him, against an invasion proceeding wholly from the hatred of France, which his Britannic majesty has drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his Imperial majesty even denies him the deportatorial letters he solicited. The court of Vienna signs a treaty with the crown of France, in March 1757, at a time when his majesty's troops were quiet in his own dominions, by which the French troops were to pass the Weser the 10th of July, and enter the electorate of Hanover. She joins her troops to those of that crown, and ravages the king's dominions worse than the French troops had done. The same duke of Cumberland who was wounded at Dettingen in defending her Imperial majesty, is obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that princess, which attacked the king's dominions.

The empress queen sends commissaries to Hanover, who are to share, and actually did share with the crown of France in the contributions. She rejects all proposals of peace; she dismisses the king's ministers from her court, and after the Divine Providence, according to its righteous ways, had by a victory granted to the king's army, delivered the electorate from its enemies, when we were endeavouring to hinder the French troops from entering it a second time, as all the world knows they threatened, his Imperial majesty, who by virtue of the capitulation which he has sworn, ought "to protect the empire, and at all times consider the electors as its internal members and main pillars, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress the estates of the empire,"—finds it his duty, without making the least mention of this inva-

sion by the French troops, to require his majesty to withdraw his troops from the countries where they then were, to put a stop to all his warlike preparations, and by that means again open a passage for the French army to enter his German dominions. His Imperial majesty thinks proper to recal the king's troops, to seduce them from their allegiance and duty to his majesty, to enjoin them never more to obey his orders, but to abandon their colours, their service, and their post; threatening the said troops with punishment in body, honours, and estates, and the king himself with being put under the ban of the empire, which is not in the power of the emperor, and employing in the proceedings on this occasion, a style proper only to be used to a Tuscan, or an Austrian subject.

The public has already judged of these proceedings, and history will transmit them to posterity without disguise, but with indelible colours.

His Britannic majesty still retains the same veneration for the Germanic body; that respect peculiar to the house of Brunswick Lunenburg, which will always hold it inviolable, is become habitual to his majesty in particular. Accordingly, he again hath recourse in quality of elector to the diet of the empire, by means of this memorial, though previously reserving to himself a power to do it hereafter in a more ample manner. The records of the empire shew what he has done for Germany, in such a manner, that at least, it cannot yet be forgotten in that country. He hopes that upon this occasion it will have some weight, the rather, as his high co-estates will easily consider that what is now endeavouring to be done to his majesty, may one day, and perhaps sooner than they think, be done to themselves.

His majesty, as elector, is charged, 1st, with not conforming to the resolutions taken the 17th of January, and the 9th of May, last year; but on the contrary, refusing his concurrence, and declaring for a neutrality. 2ndly,

with giving succours, aid, and assistance, to his majesty the king of Prussia, entering into an alliance with that prince, joining his troops with those of Prussia, under the command of a general in the service of his Prussian majesty, of sending English troops into Germany, and making them take possession of the city of Embden, and employing the auxiliary troops of some other states of the empire; and 3dly, it is complained, that contributions had been exacted in his majesty's name, of divers states of the empire.

With regard to the first charge, it is very true, in the deliberations held at the diet of the empire the beginning of last year, it was given as his majesty's opinion, as well as that of most of his protestant co-estates, that the present troubles should be amicably terminated. His majesty, in giving this opinion, had, as usual, no other view than what equity, and the good of the Germanic empire, seemed to him to require. Whatever judgment shall be formed of the unhappy war that hath broke out, the public will always remember, that, by a bare declaration of her majesty the empress queen, "that she would not attack his Prussian majesty," the rupture would have been avoided, and the effusion of much blood, as well as the desolation of Germany, prevented. The states that have suffered by the calamities of the war, may judge whether the way that was taken was the shortest for the re-establishment of peace, so much to be desired; and whether it were not to be wished that, laying aside all private views, his Britannic majesty's proposal had been followed.

It is true, his majesty took no part in the resolutions, which were contrary to his sentiments; but the laws of the empire have not thereby received the least infringement. The question, whether, *in materia collectarum*, the majority be sufficient, has been referred *ad comitia imperii* by the *instrumentum P. W.* art. v. § 52, and is

yet undecided. It is not by the plurality of voices that it can be there determined, but only by means of an amicable accommodation; since otherwise, that reference would have been a very useless course; and it is well known at the negotiations for the peace of Westphalia, what was the tendency of the opinion of the catholic states which formed the majority. Those very states, and all other members of the empire, ought however to consider well, whether it be their essential interest to acknowledge in the present case, that every state in the empire is obliged to submit to the majority of votes, in matters of consent, as in the present case, which the principal catholic electors have in other cases denied, and which will certainly be retorted upon them in proper time. But whatever principles shall be assumed with regard to this question, nothing is more evident than that, considering circumstances, and the situation of the affair then and now in question, his majesty could never be required to give his troops, to comply with those resolutions of the empire. All Germany knows, though the decree of the aulic Imperial council says not a word about it, that at the very time when those resolutions were taken, his majesty's electoral dominions were most unjustly threatened with an invasion by France. In the month of March that year, the court of Vienna signed a convention with France, by virtue of which the enemy was to pass the Weser in the month of July, and enter the king's territories. This invasion was made accordingly. The empress queen joined her own troops to those of France, and in return stipulated, by solemn treaties signed before-hand, to have half of the contributions that should be exacted. The damage which the king's subjects suffered by the first invasion, exclusive of the sums which the provinces were to furnish, and which have been paid out of the royal demesnes, amounted to several millions. And still the unjust rage of his majesty's enemies was not exhausted.

The French army which entered on the other side, under the command of the prince de Soubise, in company with the troops of Wirtemberg, which the reigning duke (a thing of which there is no example) led himself, under a French general, against a co-estate—hath again invaded, the second time, his majesty's dominions, and those of his allies, exacted insupportable contributions, carried off the king's officers, entirely foraged the country, and plundered several places, and committed the greatest disorders; whilst the court of Vienna boasts of having ordered this invasion, the sole end of which was to ravage the king's dominions and those of Hesse, as an effect of its magnanimity, and as a merit with the Germanic body.

If, in such circumstances, his majesty should be required to suspend the preparations he has begun, and join the troops he wants for his own defence to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, are led against his Prussian majesty by a prince who doth not belong to the generality of the empire, and on whom the command hath been conferred without a previous *conclusum* of the Germanic body; the right of the states of the empire to defend themselves when such defence squares not with the views of the Imperial court, ought at the same time to be settled. It is hoped that things are not yet come to this pass in Germany. Self-defence is the most urgent duty. The resolutions of the empire cannot deprive the meanest man, much less a free state, and an elector of the empire, of his right; nor require him to join the troops he wants for that end to those which, jointly with the troops of France, have invaded his country, and shared in the contributions there extorted.

In the second place, his majesty doth not deny, that he hath entered into an alliance with the king of Prussia, which is entirely conformable to the rules of right. But as he is accountable to God alone for what he doth as

king, on the other hand, in the report made of what he has done as elector, the times which preceded, have been confounded with those that followed, the French invasion. From the beginning of the last year, his majesty took every method to shew that the only thing he aimed at, without taking part otherwise in the war, was to oppose the French foreign troops, knowing they were sent only to invade his electorate, as indeed they have employed themselves almost wholly in ruining estates comprehended under the guarantee of the empire, as well those of the duke of Saxony, of the Ernestine line, of the duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the count of Lippe Schaumbourg, as those of his majesty. This just intention, founded on the laws from which his majesty hath been so far from derogating in the smallest matter, that no instance thereof hath been, or can be brought, did not nevertheless hinder the French troops, who were furnished with the emperor's letters requisitorial, from entering Germany in the avowed quality of auxiliary troops to the empress queen, in company with those of the house of Austria and the elector Palatine. The empire hath already been informed on the 3d of December last year, of the first proposals made, both to the Imperial court and the court of France, for an amicable determination of differences; proposals which could not have been rejected, had not an hostile attack been resolved on.

These offers, which, from the manner in which they were received, his majesty hath reason to regret that he ever made, leave no shadow of plausibility to the reproaches that may be made on account of the engagement that ensued, in whatever light the king of Prussia's cause may be considered. His majesty is indeed fully persuaded, that he might at any time have entered into an alliance with that prince for their common defence; but no one can doubt that, in this urgent necessity, when he was left alone, he had a right to seek assistance where it could be

got. No fault can possibly be found with that which the king of Prussia gave him to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, and those of Wolfenbuttle, Hesse, and Buckebourg. The very nature of this deliverance, and the prudence and bravery with which it hath been effected, have acquired immortal glory to his most serene highness duke Ferdinand of Brunswick Lunenburg, who doth not command the king's army as a Prussian general; a glory which is the greater, as it is more laudable for that prince to have delivered from such heavy and unjust oppression the dominions of a king from whose family he is descended, and principalities in which he drew his first breath, where his ancestors have reigned, and where the duke his brother still reigns. It is with an equally just right that this duke, with the duke of Saxe Gotha, the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the court of Schaumbourg Lippe, put their troops into his majesty's pay. Posterity will hardly believe, that at a time when Austrian, Palatine, and Wirtemberg auxiliaries, were employed to invade the countries belonging to the states of the empire, other members of the Germanic body who employed auxiliaries in their defence, were threatened with the ban. His majesty ordered the English troops to be sent over, and possession to be taken of Embden, in his quality of king, and hath no occasion to give account thereof to any. Meanwhile, the laws of the empire permit the states thereof to make use of foreign troops in their own defence; they forbid only the introduction of them into the empire, to invade the dominions of another, as the empress queen hath done.

In the third and last place, his majesty the king of Great Britain, elector of Brunswick Lunenburg, sent ministers, particularly to the Palatinate court and that of Cologne, to divert them from joining in the designs of France against his dominions. It cannot therefore be doubted, that it would have been highly agreeable to him,

if those courts had taken measures that would have freed him from the burden of the war. But none can expect that his majesty should with indifference see himself treated as an enemy by his co-estates. The elector of Cologne and the bishop of Liege had no troops that were wanted in the French army; but in consideration of subsidies, opened to it the gates of their towns, and gave it all the assistance in their power; without which, that army could not at that time have proceeded so far as the electoral estates, where the Austrian and Palatine troops behaved much worse than the French themselves. How can it be expected that his majesty, after God hath blessed his arms with success, should not resent this treatment? The laws of the empire forbid the attacking the estates of the empire; but they permit defence against, and the pursuit of those who, by their invasion, have violated the public peace.

If the crown of France be free to ravage the dominions of the duke of Brunswick and the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, because they have given the king auxiliary troops; if the empress queen may, for the assistance she hath lent the French king to attack the king's dominions, appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised there, his majesty ought to be equally permitted to make those states who have favoured the unjust enterprises of his enemies, feel the burden of the war.

These are facts notorious to the whole empire. His majesty hath too good an opinion of the penetration of his high co-estates, to doubt of their perceiving the importance of them, and laying to heart what the merit he has acquired with the empire might have required, and still requires; and therefore his majesty expects that the diet will, by way of advice, propose to his Imperial majesty to annul his most inconsistent mandates, and not only take the most effectual measures to protect the electorate and the countries of his majesty, and those of Brunswick,

Wolfenbuttle, Hesse Cassel, and Lippe Schaumbourg, and procure them a proper indemnification, but also give orders for those proceedings against the empress queen, as arch-duchess of Austria, the elector Palatine, and the duke of Wirtemberg, which her majesty, without being required to do it, puts in force against his Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswick Lunenburg. For which end, the undersigned most humbly requests your excellencies to ask immediately necessary instructions from your principals.

Can it be said that this was approving of a convention, and demanding an explanation, so important and so contrary to its true meaning? His majesty the king of Denmark had too great regard for the king, to think it just to engage him to subscribe to that, as a consequence of the treaty signed at Cloister-Seven. If marechal Richelieu did not mean by his pretended words of honour, the assurance not to begin hostilities before the rupture of the negotiation, we own we know not what he meant; at least that is the sense in which we have ever understood those expressions, and in which we have executed the convention. The French ministry know very well, that the chief point is to determine how long the obligation of the treaty ought to subsist, according to the views of the contracting parties. "Hence," say they, "it is evident, that the expression of final reconciliation is made use of in article 3d, only to denote that Bremen and Verden were to remain in the hands of the French till that final reconciliation should happen. This is the same thing as if it had been stipulated, that the French should remain in possession of that country till a peace. That the duke of Cumberland knew very well that his most Christian majesty had formerly refused to treat with him about a neutrality for Hanover; that he had therefore left out the condition of a separate reconciliation, fearing that his proposal might have caused the convention to be rejected,

which he had so much interest and honour to obtain. That it is plain from the preamble to the convention, that the intention of it was to hinder the countries of Bremen and Verden from being any longer the theatre of the war."

His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, so far from being convinced of the impossibility of obtaining a separate accommodation for the king, knew that the court of Vienna had promised her utmost efforts to bring it about, and had even, for that purpose, sent a courier to Versailles, to hasten its conclusion. These promises were the more to be depended on, as France had all along pretended in her writings, that her sole motive in not acceding to these proposals, was, because she was not willing to do it without the concurrence of her allies. The final reconciliation of the two sovereigns, namely, the king as elector, and the king of France, had certainly no relation to a general peace. The proposals made to France of an accommodation, and known both to cardinal Richelieu and count Lynar, could leave no difficulty as to the true sense of the term of a final reconciliation. She may exaggerate as much as she will, the dangerous situation, and the extremity to which the king's army was reduced when the suspension of arms was concluded; but the event could not have been more fatal than that which France wanted to bring about, as the intention of the two contracting parties; for, by her principles, the states of the king would have remained in the hands of the enemy as long as the court of Versailles should have thought proper to keep them; the auxiliary troops would have been disarmed, and those of the king exposed to total destruction. It is plain, that the preamble to the convention speaks only of the reasons which induced his Danish majesty to interpose in that affair. The king gives them that justice which they deserve, and looks upon the case of the king of Denmark as a proof of his inestimable friendship, and at the same time as an effect of his humanity, and of

the generous concern which his Danish majesty took to prevent the effusion of blood, and to stop the scourge of war. But by this also the king is persuaded, that the court of Copenhagen never intended to become an instrument to France, to make the king submit to the severe terms which the latter wanted to impose upon him, under pretence of the convention, and by means of pretended necessary explanations.

The disarming of the Hessians, is properly the rock on which the convention split, so the French spare no pains to give a colour to this pretence. “The duke of Brunswick,” say they, “ratified without any alteration the convention signed at Vienna, relating to the disarming of his troops. The landgrave had formerly demanded to be treated as that prince; it was not natural to trust to a considerable body of troops which submitted only through fear; and it was a silly precaution to take away the means of offence, without being sure of taking away the inclination. It follows evidently from the terms of the convention, that these troops being disbanded, they were disengaged from all connexions with the king of England, elector of Hanover, who consequently had no right to retain them, and to steal away the son of the duke of Brunswick. The only condition which the Hanoverian general had a right to demand for the auxiliary troops was, that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war; and he could not pretend but that they had been disarmed. The condition of disarmed troops, is by no means equal to that of troops prisoners of war.”

It is not our purpose here to examine the negotiations which, as is pretended, the landgrave and the duke of Brunswick entered upon with the court of France; but every one knows that these princes thought themselves in no wise bound by what passed. The design of sowing diffidence among the allies, which France had certainly in view, by alleging these pretended negotiations, will not have its desired effect. Nor will we trouble ourselves to

examine whether the prudence and interest of the court required the disarming of the auxiliary troops. Though that court has long adopted it as a maxim, to consult only her own interest, and to give no other reason than her own convenience, without considering whether it would be possible to reconcile these motives with the laws of justice and equity; these are not, however, sufficient means to justify to the eyes of the public the pretensions formed with regard to the auxiliary troops. Nor need we enter into explanations with France, about the manner in which the Brunswick troops were retained, nor of that which concerns his royal highness the hereditary prince of Wolfenbüttele. It would be very easy to free ourselves from all reproach on that head. It is sufficient that these two articles were amicably terminated with his royal highness the duke of Brunswick.

The question between the king and France is, whether the king had reason to oppose the disarming of the auxiliary troops, and whether he had a right to keep them in his pay? We need only see the convention to decide in favour of the affirmative. It does not contain one word which can naturally mean a disarming; nor does it contain any tacit consent to this pretence. It is indeed stipulated, that the troops should not be considered as prisoners; but if it could be concluded from hence, that the disarming had been granted, it must at the same time be owned that the convention delivered up these troops to the mercy and discretion of France. The French ministry themselves would not go upon so strange a supposition.

These troops, in quality of troops, and consequently armed, were to return home, and there to find quarters. It was in consequence of this regulation, that advice was given of the convention to the sovereigns of the auxiliary troops. It is absurd to say, that by this means they had been disbanded. The landgrave's troops remained notwithstanding in the pay of Great Britain,

and the troops of the dukes of Brunswick and Gotha, and also those of the count de la Lippe, never lost their quality of subsidiary troops of the king as elector. To maintain the contrary, would be to say that his majesty, in quality of king and elector, had the power of revoking the treaties of subsidy concluded between them, without consulting these princes; a power which his majesty does not pretend to, and which the duke of Cumberland neither had nor could have a design to make use of. The true sense of the convention certainly was, that during the continuance of the suspension of arms, these troops should remain quiet in their respective countries, and at the expiration of the suspension, they should be at liberty to renew their services by virtue of treaties, and in consequence of their quality of subsidiaries, which was by no means destroyed. This having happened, it would be useless to examine the extent of the articles of the convention, with regard to the destination of the Hessian troops in the pay of England.

The French ministry make but a very short answer to the accusations of their having broke the convention, set forth in the *motives*, and general Zastrow's letter of November 14. They say, "that none of the reasons alleged, could occasion the breaking of the convention: that no stipulation had been made for the castle of Schartzfeld, nor the restitution of prisoners; that no mention had been made of the treatment of the conquered countries; and lastly, that the things set forth in M. Zastrow's letter, did not happen till after the convention had been first broken by the Hanoverians."

When one of the contracting parties thinks itself authorized to break a treaty, and no recourse can be had to a superior judgment, it is most naturally for the other to think itself equally disengaged from all obligation. It is true, that in the treaty of Cloister-Seven no mention had been made of prisoners of war, but this point was adjusted

six days after, by the act of accommodation concluded at Bremerworden the 16th of September, 1757, between general Sporcken and general Villemar.

The suspension of arms had put an end to the hostilities of all sorts which the French army could commit against the king, in quality of elector. But was it not an hostility, to take by assault the castle of Schartzfeld, to plunder it, and carry off the garrison prisoners of war? Was it not an hostility to redouble, after signing the convention, the exactions and violences towards the king's subjects, instead of granting them the relief which they expected? When a people submits, and ceases to make resistance, they have a natural right to a milder treatment from the conqueror, than another which is still in fear of hostilities. The subjects of the electorate tried, though impossible, to satisfy the exactions that were imposed upon them. Their resignation only multiplied the most exorbitant demands, accompanied with threatenings, which but too plainly shewed that the total ruin and destruction of the country would be the consequences of a convention concluded to prevent this misfortune. Lastly, if the other breaches by the French had not existed before the open breaking of the convention, general Zastrow would have no reason to complain of them in his letter of the 14th of November.

They pretend to justify themselves by saying, "that the pretence of disarming the Hessians had been taken away by the king's complaisance in desisting from that condition; that what was said in the *motives*, was false; that France had but very lately softened her language on that head; that as early as the 2d November, marechal Richelieu had declared his having desisted from them, by virtue of his full powers; and in that case the Hanoverian general had no pretence left for executing the convention of Cloister-Seven."

On the 17th of October, 1757, count Lynar wrote to

his majesty's electoral minister, that marechal Richelieu's courier was returned from Versailles, with instructions which expressly said the court would hear of no terms of peace; that it was resolved to hold to the scheme of explanation; and lastly, that it would less than ever desist from the condition of disarming the Hessians; and that it had rejected the offer of his Danish majesty to receive these troops into his territories.

It was therefore necessary to come to a determination on this head, or to wait to see the war kindled up afresh. The battle of Rosbach happened on the 5th November, soon after the arrival of that letter. The king could not foresee that France would then change her tone. He saw himself obliged to take measures, in consequence of the declarations which he had been informed of by the letter of October 17th; nor could he afterwards change them, when it at length pleased the court of Versailles to come down, though very little, from her unjust pretensions. On one hand, he had already addressed himself to his Prussian majesty; and on the other, the proceedings of France shewed but too plainly that he had reason to be diffident of her fidelity. Besides, it is not true, that she desisted from the disarming of all the auxiliary troops. In marechal Richelieu's letter of November 9th, he makes only mention of the Hessians, and is silent with regard to the fate of the troops of Brunswick. Lastly, she never renounced her pretensions to keep the states of the king till a general peace.

It is plain, that during the continuance of a negotiation, and before every thing be regulated and concluded, the two parties have a power to retract their engagements. If all difficulties had been removed by the convention of Cloister-Seven, what need was there of a new negotiation? France, persisting to want further clauses and explications to be added to it, gave the king an incontestible right to declare himself according to the nature of the subject and circumstances.

Not content with having combated the motives which engaged the king to take up arms, they criticise violently upon the manner in which that was executed. "Had there been," say they, "any honourable way of withdrawing from the execution of that solemn act, it would have been to declare it void, by putting themselves in the same position they were before it was concluded. But instead of that, the most odious means were made use of to violate that capitulation successively, and with impunity. The time was spun out for three months, to find an opportunity to break the convention. The French army was suffered to go to Halberstadt, and they waited till it was separated by the bad season. They seized the opportunity of a repulse, to come out of the limits prescribed them, under pretence of extending their quarters. They afterwards took advantageous posts, under pretences equally contrary to the convention. They made all the dispositions for the siege of Harbourg, without any previous declaration of war; and having made all these preparations, and when they thought the enemy sufficiently weakened and deceived to fight them with advantage, they declared that hostilities were to be commenced, and that they considered the convention as broken, while they were marching against them, and attacking their posts."

The more the author of the *parallel* exhausts his rhetoric in this sort of declamation, so much the less regard doth he pay to truth. It is certain and incontestible, that the Hanoverians conformed on their part in every respect to the convention, as it was signed. It was neither the king's generals, nor *marechal Richelieu*, who caused it to be broken by their declarations; but the court of Versailles, which would not look upon the convention as obligatory, unless it should be extended to the disarming of the auxiliary troops, and unless the king would leave his country to the discretion of his enemies till a general peace. The king therefore had

the same right to look upon this affair as depending upon the resolution of the respective courts, and to take his measures accordingly. He made use of that right. It was natural not to commit hostilities as long as count Lynar's negotiation lasted: but that minister, as the court of Versailles well knows, could never bring about negotiations of peace, which was, however, the true intention of the suspension of arms. Could it be thought strange if the king, by virtue of the right which the inflexible severity of his enemies gave him, determined himself according to the events that happened, and the victory gained over the French army at Rosbach? This event, however, did not influence his majesty's resolutions. If any one will but calculate the date of these events, he will be convinced of the contrary. The battle of Rosbach happened on the 5th November, and the motions of the Hanoverian army were renewed on the 26th of the same month. The king could not have been informed at London in so short a time of that success, to give orders to his minister to solicit the consent of his Prussian majesty with regard to prince Ferdinand, to whom the king offered the command of the army, so as to receive the king of Prussia's answer, to hear of the prince's arrival, and cause hostilities to be renewed. If the rules of good faith had not been scrupulously observed, the French army might have been reduced to a more dangerous situation than it really was. In what a critical situation would it have found itself, if the king's troops, as they were fully authorized to do, had marched on the first discovery of the design, to disarm the auxiliary troops, and at the same time that the battle of Rosbach happened, and when marechal Richelieu was at Halberstadt with his army, had attacked him in the rear! The operations of the army did not begin till after the king of Prussia was gone into Silesia, and when the French were not only upon their guard, but the first columns of their

army had even advanced beyond Lunenburg, with design to obtain, by open force, the unjust conditions proposed by the court of Versailles. As to the pretended preparations for the siege of Harbourg, we know nothing at all of them. We do not deny but the quarters of the troops were extended; but that we were obliged to through unavoidable necessity, the quarters destined to receive only the Hanoverian troops, not being at the same time sufficient for those of Hesse and Brunswick also, which by a natural consequence of the proceedings of France, could not be separated from the body of the army. Neither of the two French detachments were surprised: the two armies were assembled when the scene of operations was again opened, and in this respect they were in the same situation as at Cloister-Seven. Nor was it in the year 1757, but in the year following, that the French army was driven out of his majesty's German dominions. The victory gained at Rosbach, the bad season, the diseases and decrease of the French army, events which never followed from the king's resolutions, could not oblige his majesty to maintain a convention which in itself was not binding, and which France would not acknowledge as such when it was a proper time.

We flatter ourselves we have fully answered the reproaches of the court of Versailles, at least none of the objections that relate to the decision of the subject have been wilfully forgot. We do not pretend to anticipate the judgment of the public. We leave it to pronounce, after having seen a true representation of his Britannic majesty's conduct, whether the ministry of Versailles are in the right, when they say, "that such odious principles and proceedings can only be owing to the artifices and evil councils of some corrupt ministers."

We will not trouble ourselves to answer this abusive language, nor will we retort it, but pass over the above, as well as many other reproaches equally odious and

trifling. The French ministry cannot be so ignorant of the judgment which their own nation forms of their principles, to doubt that we might, if we had a mind, reproach them with their evil counsels and measures, equally ruinous to France and Germany, in a manner which even in France itself would not fail to make an impression. It is, however, necessary to add two remarks on what has been said. Our days have produced a phenomenon of which history does not furnish us with an example: we have seen the houses of Austria and Bourbon uniting their forces to give chains to Europe, and especially to Germany. Providence does not want means to prevent this misfortune. This dominion, so eagerly sought for, could not be exercised in concert if they should make themselves masters of it. That alliance, the first years of which have flowed with rivers of blood, will occasion no less bloodshed when it comes one day to be broken; but the violent and imminent dangers with which the political system of Europe, and so many kingdoms and states are threatened during this crisis, merit the most serious attention of those who are at the helm of government. Especially, it is manifest that the protestant religion is in inevitable danger, notwithstanding the false protestations given to the professors of it. The pretended schemes of secularization ascribed to his Britannic majesty and the king of Prussia, are so ill-founded, that they are taken upon the authority of an obscure work, every page of which shews the author to have no right to be a negotiator of peace. Never had the catholic religion less to fear than at a time when its arms are united, and dissention reigns among the protestants. It is not the same with regard to what the latter have to fear from their enemies. The designs of the court of Vienna to render the catholic religion predominant in Germany, have been plainly exhibited by the reflections and advices of a

very able minister, who certainly would not have imposed upon his court, and who had his information from the fountain head. The justice of his discoveries has been proved by the event, for we see not one catholic state of the empire but what has bowed the neck to this new system, out of a zeal for religion, notwithstanding the real disadvantages that must naturally follow. It is only answered to these arguments, that the treaty of Versailles has been founded upon the treaty of Westphalia. But are not the courts which have contracted these new engagements, free to change them at pleasure, and according to circumstances? Besides, if the protestant states, as they pretend, are bound to adopt the treaty of the peace of Westphalia in what sense the catholics please to give it, it is but too clear that the protestants are already divested of the most important privileges granted to them by that treaty.

All the king's measures will ever tend to the general safety of Europe, to the liberty and independence of the empire, and the maintenance of the protestant religion. Neither the misfortune which his estates of Germany have suffered, nor the base treatment which he hath received from the court of Vienna, nor the conduct of several of his co-estates which favour the unjust designs of that court, will ever be able divert him from an end so worthy of himself. He hopes that the Divine Providence will continue to bless the arms which he has taken up in his own defence, and that it will make this the means of procuring peace to the empire, and also of blasting the wicked designs of those who have brought into it the flame of war, and have opened a scene of calamities of which we have not seen an instance since the peace of Westphalia.

GENERAL WOLFE TO MR. SECRETARY PITT.

A. D. 1759.

This letter was written immediately previous to the celebrated and successful attack on the city of Quebec, by gaining the heights of Abraham. The battle of Quebec was fought on the 15th, and the city surrendered on the 18th September, 1759. The letter itself is a model of perspicuity, simplicity, and elegance.

*Head-Quarters at Montmorenci,
in the river St. Laurence, Sept. 2d, 1759.*

SIR,

I wish I could upon this occasion have the honour of transmitting to you a more favourable account of the progress of his majesty's arms; but the obstacles we have met with in the operations of the campaign, are much greater than we had reason to expect, or could foresee; not so much from the number of the enemy, though superior to us, as from the natural strength of the country, which the marquis de Montcalm seems wisely to depend upon.

When I learned that succours of all kinds had been thrown into Quebec, that five battalions of regular troops completed from the best inhabitants of the country, some of the troops of the colony, and every Canadian that was able to bear arms, besides several nations of savages, had taken the field in a very advantageous situation, I could not flatter myself that I should be able to reduce the place. I sought, however, an occasion to attack their army, knowing well that with these troops I was able to fight, and that a victory might disperse them.

We found them encamped along the shore of Beaufort, from the river of St. Charles to the falls of Montmorenci, and entrenched in every accessible part. The 27th June we landed upon the isle of Orleans, but receiving a message from the admiral, that there was reason to think that the enemy had artillery and a force upon the point of Levi, I detached brigadier Monckton with four battalions to drive them from thence. He passed the river the 29th at night, and marched the next day to the point: he obliged the enemy's irregulars to retire, and possessed himself of that post; the advanced parties upon this occasion had two or three skirmishes with the Canadians and Indians, with little loss on either side. Colonel Carleton marched with a detachment to the westernmost point of the isle of Orleans, from whence our operations are like to begin.

It was absolutely necessary to possess these two points, and fortify them, because from either one or the other the enemy might make it impossible for any ship to lie in the bason of Quebec, or even within two miles of it. Batteries of cannon and mortars were erected with great dispatch on the point of Levi, to bombard the town and magazines, and to injure the works and batteries. The enemy, perceiving these works in some forwardness, passed the river with 1600 men to attack and destroy them. Unluckily they fell into confusion, fired upon one another, and went back again, by which we lost an opportunity of defeating this large detachment. The effect of this artillery has been so great, though across the river, that the upper town is considerably damaged, and the lower town entirely destroyed.

The works for the security of our hospitals and stores on the island of Orleans, being finished on the 9th of July at night, we passed the north channel, and encamped near the enemy's left, the river Montmorenci between us. The next morning captain Dank's company of rangers, posted

in a wood to cover some workmen, were attacked and defeated by a body of Indians, and had so many killed and wounded as to be almost disabled for the rest of the campaign. The enemy also suffered in this affair, and were in their turn driven off by the nearest troops.

The ground to the eastward of the falls seemed to be, as it really is, higher than that on the enemy's side, and to command it in a manner which might be made useful to us. There is, besides, a ford below the falls, which may be passed for some hours in the latter part of the ebb, and beginning of the flood tide; and I had hopes that possibly means might be found of passing the river above, so as to fight M. Montcalm upon terms of less disadvantage than directly attacking his entrenchments. In reconnoitring the river Montmorenci, we found it fordable at a place about three miles up; but the opposite bank was entrenched, and so steep and woody, that it was to no purpose to attempt a passage there. The escort was twice attacked by the Indians, who were as often repulsed; but in these rencounters we had forty men killed and wounded.

The 18th July, two men of war, two armed sloops, and two transports with some troops on board, passed by the town without any loss, and got into the upper river. This enabled me to reconnoitre the country above, where I found the same attention on the enemy's side, and great difficulties on our's, arising from the nature of the ground, and the obstacles to our communication with the fleet. But what I feared most was, that if we should land between the town and the river Cape Rouge, the body first landed could not be reinforced before they were attacked by the enemy's whole army.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, I thought once more of attempting it at St. Michael's, about three miles above the town; but perceiving that the enemy were jealous of the design, were preparing against it, and had actually

brought artillery and a mortar, which, being so near to Quebec, they could increase as they pleased, to play upon the shipping, and it must have been many hours before we could attack them, even supposing a favourable night for the boats to pass by the town unhurt, it seemed so hazardous that I thought it best to desist. However, to divide the enemy's force, and to draw their attention as high up the river as possible, and to procure some intelligence, I sent a detachment under the command of colonel Carleton to land at the point de Frempe, to attack whatever he might find there, bring off some prisoners, and all the useful papers he could get. I had been informed that a number of the inhabitants of Quebec had retired to that place, and that probably we should find a magazine of provisions there. The colonel was fired upon by a body of Indians the moment he landed, but they were soon dispersed and driven into the woods. He searched for magazines, but to no purpose, brought off some prisoners, and returned with little loss.

After this business I came back to Montmorenci, where I found that brigadier Townshend had, by a superior fire, prevented the French from erecting a battery on the bank of the river, from whence they intended to cannonade our camp. I now resolved to take the first opportunity which presented itself of attacking the enemy, though posted to great advantage, and every where prepared to receive us.

As the men of war cannot for want of a sufficient depth of water, come near enough to the enemy's entrenchments to annoy them in the least, the admiral had prepared two transports drawing but little water, which upon occasion could be run aground to favour a descent. With the help of these vessels, which I understood would be carried by the tide close in shore, I proposed to make myself master of a detached redoubt near to the water's edge, and whose situation appeared to be out of musquet shot of the entrenchment upon the hill. If the enemy supported this

detached piece, it would necessarily bring on an engagement—what we most wished for ; and if not, I should have it in my power to examine their situation, so as to be able to determine where we could best attack them. Preparations were accordingly made for an engagement. The 31st July in the afternoon, the boats of the fleet were filled with grenadiers and a part of general Monckton's brigade from the point of Levi. The two brigades under the brigadiers Townshend and Murray were ordered to be in readiness to pass the ford when it should be thought necessary ; to facilitate the passage of this corps, the admiral had placed the *Centurion* in the channel, so that she might check the fire of the lower battery, which commanded the ford. This ship was of great use, as her fire was very judiciously directed. A great quantity of artillery was placed upon the eminence, so as to batter and enfilade the left of their entrenchments.

From the vessel which ran aground nearest in, I observed that the redoubt was too much commanded to be kept without very great loss ; and the more, as the two armed ships could not be brought near enough to cover both with their artillery and musquetry, which I at first conceived they might. But as the enemy seemed in some confusion, and we were prepared for an action, I thought it a proper time to make an attempt upon their entrenchments. Orders were sent to the brigadiers-general to be ready with the troops under their command ; brigadier Monckton to land, and the brigadiers Townshend and Murray to pass the ford. At a proper time of the tide the signal was made, but in rowing towards the shore, many of the boats grounded upon a ledge that runs off a considerable distance. This accident put us in some disorder, lost a great deal of time, and obliged me to send an officer to stop brigadier Townshend's march, whom I then observed to be in motion. While the seamen were getting the boats off,

the enemy fired a number of shells and shot, but did no considerable damage. As soon as this disorder could be set a little to rights, and the boats were ranged in a proper manner, some of the officers of the navy went in with me to find a better place to land. We took one flat-bottomed boat with us to make the experiment, and as soon as we had found a fit part of the shore, the troops were ordered to disembark, thinking it not yet too late for the attempt. The thirteen companies of grenadiers, and 200 of the second royal American battalion got first on shore. The grenadiers were ordered to form themselves into four distinct bodies, and to begin the attack, supported by brigadier Monckton's corps, as soon as the troops had passed the ford, and were at hand to assist. But whether from the noise and hurry at landing, or from some other cause, the grenadiers, instead of forming themselves as they were directed, ran on impetuously towards the enemy's entrenchments in the utmost disorder and confusion, without waiting for the corps which were to sustain them, and join in the attack. Brigadier Monckton was not landed, and brigadier Townshend was at a considerable distance, though upon his march to join us in very great order. The grenadiers were checked by the enemy's first fire, and obliged to shelter themselves in or about the redoubt which the French abandoned upon the approach. In this situation they continued for some time, unable to form under so hot a fire, and having many gallant officers wounded, who, careless of their persons, had been solely intent upon their duty. I saw the absolute necessity of calling them off, that they might form themselves under brigadier Monckton's corps, which was now landed, and drawn up on the beach in extreme good order.

By this new accident, and this second delay, it was near night; a sudden storm came on, and the tide began to make; so that I thought it most advisable not to persevere in so difficult an attack, lest, in case of a repulse,

the retreat of brigadier Townshend's corps might be hazardous and uncertain.

Our artillery had a great effect upon the enemy's left, where brigadiers Townshend and Murray were to have attacked, and it is probable that if those accidents I have spoken of had not happened, we should have penetrated there, whilst our left and centre, more remote from our artillery, must have bore all the violence of the musquetry. The French did not attempt to interrupt our march. Some of their savages came down to murder such wounded as could not be brought off, and to scalp the dead, as their custom is.

The place where the attack was intended, has these advantages over all others hereabout: our artillery could be brought into use; the greatest part, or even the whole of the troops might act at once; and the retreat, in case of a repulse, was secure at least for a certain time of the tide. Neither one nor other of these advantages can any where else be found. The beach upon which the troops were drawn up was of deep mud, with holes, and cut by several gullies. The hill to be ascended very steep, and not every where practicable. The enemy numerous in their entrenchments, and their fire hot. If the attack had succeeded, our loss must certainly have been great and theirs inconsiderable, from the shelter which the neighbouring woods afforded them. The river of St. Charles still remained to be passed before the town was invested. All these circumstances I considered; but the desire to act in conformity to the king's intentions induced me to make this trial, persuaded that a victorious army finds no difficulties.

Immediately after this check I sent brigadier Murray above the town with 1200 men, directing him to assist rear-admiral Holmes in the destruction of the French ships, if they could be got at, in order to open a communication with general Amherst. The brigadier was to

seek every favourable opportunity of fighting some of the enemy's detachments, provided he could do it upon tolerable terms, and to use all the means in his power to provoke them to attack him. He made two different attempts to land upon the north shore without success, but in a third was more fortunate. He landed unexpectedly at De Chambaud, and burnt a magazine there in which were some provisions, some ammunition, and all the spare stores, clothing, arms, and baggage of their army. The prisoners he took informed him of the surrender of the fort of Niagara, and we discovered by intercepted letters that the enemy had abandoned Carillon and Crown Point, were retired to the isle Aux Noix, and that general Amherst was making preparations to pass the lake Champlain, to fall upon M. Bourlemaque's corps, which consists of three battalions of foot, and as many Canadians as make the whole amount to three thousand.

The admiral's dispatches and mine would have gone eight or ten days sooner, if I had not been prevented writing by a fever. I found myself so ill, and am still so weak, that I begged the general officers to consult together for the public utility. They were all of opinion, that as more ships and provisions are now got above the town, they should try, by conveying up a corps of four or five thousand men, which is nearly the whole strength of the army after the points of Levi and Orleans are left in a proper state of defence, to draw the enemy from their present situation, and bring them to an action. I have acquiesced in their proposal, and we are preparing to put it into execution.

The admiral and I have examined the town, with a view to a general assault; but after consulting with the chief engineer, who is well acquainted with the interior parts of it, and after viewing it with the utmost attention, we found, that though the batteries of the lower town might be easily silenced by the men of war, yet the business of

an assault would be little advanced by that, since the few passages that lead from the lower to the upper town are carefully entrenched, and the upper batteries cannot be affected by the ships, which must receive considerable damage from them and from the mortars. The admiral would readily join in this or in any other measure for the public service; but I could not propose to him an undertaking of so dangerous a nature, and promising so little success.

To the uncommon strength of the country, the enemy have added, for the defence of the river, a great number of floating batteries and boats. By the vigilance of these, and the Indians round our different posts, it has been impossible to execute any thing by surprize. We have had almost daily skirmishes with these savages, in which they are generally defeated, but not without loss on our side.

By the list of disabled officers, many of whom are of rank, you may perceive, sir, that the army is much weakened. By the nature of the river the most formidable part of this armament is deprived of the power of acting, yet we have almost the whole force of Canada to oppose. In this situation there is such a choice of difficulties, that I own myself at a loss how to determine. The affairs of Great Britain I know require the most vigorous measures; but then the courage of a handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. However, you may be assured, sir, that the small part of the campaign which remains, shall be employed, as far as I am able, for the honour of his majesty and the interest of the nation; in which I am sure of being seconded by the admiral, and by the generals; happy, if our efforts here can contribute to the success of his majesty's arms in any other parts of America.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. WOLFE.

CONDUCT OF LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

A. D. 1759.

IN the general orders given out after the victory of Minden, the commander-in-chief expressed in the strongest terms his approbation and admiration of the behaviour of the English infantry ; declaring further “ his persuasion, that if he had had the good fortune to have had the marquis of Granby at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant.”

Lord George Sackville, finding himself reflected upon in this pointed and public manner, addressed himself by letter to colonel Fitzroy, requesting him, who, as aid-de-camp to prince Ferdinand, had delivered his serene highness's orders to his lordship, to bear testimony to the propriety of his conduct. Colonel Fitzroy on the same day returned the following answer :

MY LORD, *Minden, Aug. 3, 1759.*

His serene highness, upon some report made to him by the duke of Richmond, sent captain Ligonier and myself with orders for the British cavalry to advance. His serene highness was at this instant one or two brigades beyond the English infantry, towards the left. Upon my arrival on the right of the cavalry, I found captain Ligonier with your lordship. Notwithstanding, I declared his serene highness's orders to you ; upon which you desired I would not be in a hurry. I made answer, that galloping had put me out of breath, which made me speak very quick. I then repeated the orders for the British cavalry to advance towards the left ; and at the same time mentioning the circumstance that occasioned the

orders, added, "that it was a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves, and that your lordship, by leading them on, would gain immortal honour."

You yet expressed your surprise at the order, saying, it was impossible the duke could mean to break the line. My answer was, that I delivered his serene highness's orders word for word as he gave them. Upon which you asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide? I undertook to lead them towards the left, round the little wood on the left, as they were then drawn up where they might be little exposed to the enemy's cannonade. Your lordship continued to think my orders neither clear nor exactly delivered; and expressing your desire to see prince Ferdinand, ordered me to lead you to him; which order I was obeying, when we met his serene highness. During this time I did not see the cavalry advance. Captain Smith, one of your aids-de-camp, once or twice made me repeat the orders I had before delivered to your lordship; and I hope he will do me the justice to say they were clear and exact. He went up to you whilst we were going to find the duke, as I imagine, being sensible of the clearness of my orders, and the necessity of their being immediately obeyed. I heard your lordship give him some orders: what they were I cannot say, but he immediately rode back towards the cavalry.

Upon my joining the duke, I repeated to him the orders I had delivered to you; and appealing to his serene highness, to know whether they were the same he had honoured me with, I had the satisfaction to hear him declare they were very exact. His serene highness immediately asked where the cavalry was; and upon my making answer that lord George did not understand the order, but was coming to speak to his serene highness, he expressed his surprise strongly.

I hope your lordship will think I did nothing but my duty as aid-de-camp, in mentioning to his serene highness my orders being so much questioned by your lordship.

I am, &c.

* * * * *

Lord George Sackville, affecting to feel the utmost astonishment at having thus fallen under the displeasure of the commander-in-chief, immediately applied for his majesty's permission to return to England, in order to answer any accusation that should be brought against him, as no court-martial could be held upon him in Germany. This was very easily acceded to; and on his arrival in England, he found the voice of the public almost unanimous in the censure and condemnation of his conduct. His lordship was also informed in writing by the secretary of state, lord Holderness, that a court-martial would be granted as soon as the officers capable of giving evidence could leave their posts; and previously to the receipt of this letter, he was dismissed from all his military employments.

On the 29th of the following February, 1760, a court-martial was accordingly held upon his lordship, which continued till the 3d April; at the termination of which, the court declared its opinion, that lord George Sackville was guilty of having disobeyed the orders of the prince Ferdinand, and adjudged his lordship to be unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever.

This sentence was confirmed by the king, who moreover signified his pleasure, "that it should be given out in public orders, not only in Britain, but in America, and every quarter of the globe where any English troops happened to be, that officers, being convinced that neither high birth nor great employments can shelter offences of such a nature, and that seeing they are subject to censures

much worse than death to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders."

To complete the ignominy of the punishment, his majesty called in council for the council-book, and ordered the name of lord George Sackville to be struck out of the list of privy counsellors.

The circumstances on the trial which caused so general a conviction of the culpability of his lordship, and which drew upon him such a dreadful accumulation of disgrace, were concisely and substantially as follows :

Captain Winschingrode, aid-de-camp to prince Ferdinand, deposed, that upon his delivering his orders from the prince to his lordship to form a line, as a third line, to support the infantry, and advance, lord George seemed not to understand them ; asked how that was to be done : that he then explained them, and made him understand that he was to pass with the cavalry between the trees that he saw on his left ; that he would then arrive upon a heath, where he was to form with the cavalry, and advance, in order to sustain the infantry, which he then thought to be engaged.

Colonel Sloper, in corroboration of this evidence, deposed, that Captain Winschingrode, upon lord George's appearing not to understand the orders he delivered in French, pronounced them as well as he could in English, expressing that the movement was to be to the left, and through the trees, both by waving his hand and by words.—Colonel Sloper also deposed, that it was at least a quarter of an hour after Captain Winschingrode left lord George, before the arrival of colonel Ligonier, who came with fresh orders from the prince.

Colonel Ligonier deposed to the same purpose with captain Winschingrode, that his order extended to the whole wing of cavalry, and that he directed the movement of it to the left, through the trees, to the heath,

where it was to form, in order to profit of the disorder which appeared in the enemy's cavalry.

Both colonel Ligonier and colonel Sloper remarked the confusion apparent in the countenance of lord George ; and the latter said to the aid-de-camp Ligonier, " for God's sake repeat your orders to that man, that he may not pretend not to understand them—but you see the condition he is in." To which Ligonier answered, " Yes." Soon after this the third aid-de-camp, colonel Fitzroy, came up, who repeated the same orders with great earnestness, as mentioned in his letter, with this trifling variation, that he said the prince's words were, " the British cavalry;" the whole wing consisting of British, except a few brigades of Hanoverian horse.

Upon this variation, however, lord George laid the greatest stress, and insisted upon going to the prince in person for an explanation, as he could not think that the prince meant to break the line. The prince received his lordship with *sang-froid*, and ordered him to bring up the whole cavalry of the right wing (some squadrons of Hanoverians to the right excepted) in a line upon the heath ; an order exactly conformable to those delivered by captain Winschingrode and colonel Ligonier, and differing verbally only from the order brought by colonel Fitzroy, as it was impossible, by lord George's own acknowledgment, that the prince could mean to break the line. Lord George having at length put the wing of cavalry in motion, advanced, to adopt his own words in his letter to colonel Fitzroy, " as fast as he imagined it was right for cavalry to march in line." After some time he halted, to complete his forming the whole. Upon lord Granby's advancing the left before the right, he again sent orders to halt. Lord Granby said, as the prince had ordered us to advance, he thought we should move forward. I then, said his lordship, let him proceed at the rate he liked, and kept my right up with him as regularly as I could, till we got to the rear of

the infantry and the batteries. After halting here together for some time in expectation, as his lordship affirms, of being ordered to charge the enemy's cavalry, the battle was declared to be gained, and they were told to dismount the men.

Lord Granby on his part deposed, that captain Winschingle having told him it was absolutely necessary the cavalry should march, he had put the second line immediately in motion; that meeting colonel Fitzroy, he was again ordered to advance the cavalry as fast as possible; that in marching, they were nevertheless twice halted by lord George Sackville; that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even have come up time enough to act against the enemy.

END OF VOL. IV.

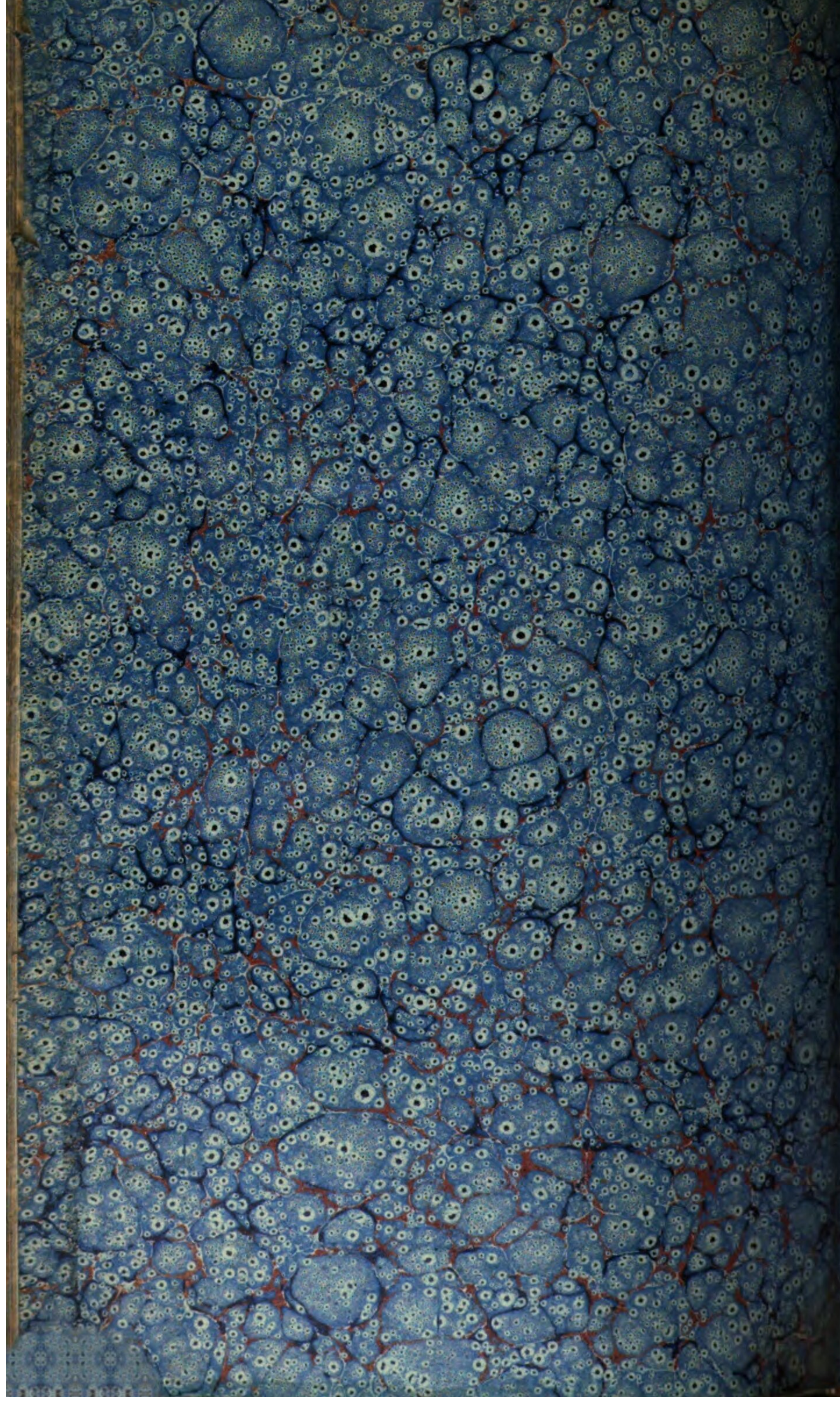
the infantry and the batteries. After halting here together for some time in expectation, as his lordship attires, of being ordered to charge the enemy's cavalry, the battle was declared to be gained, and they were told to dismount the men.

Lord Gensby on his part deposed, that captain Wing- chawrode having told him it was absolutely necessary the cavalry should march, he had put the second line immediately in motion; that meeting colonel Tillet, he was again ordered to advance the cavalry as fast as possible; that in marching, they were nevertheless halted by lord George Sackville; that, in his opinion, they might have marched with more expedition, and even have come up time enough to act against the enemy.

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